The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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CATHOLIC ACTION IN 1936

IN ITS survey of the main events of 1935, the news service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference again quotes the text of the statement on Catholic Action issued by the general meeting of the hierarchy in November, which, of course, was communicated to the Catholic press at that time. Its reiteration now emphasizes its importance, and this journal believes that its readers should not only be given the full text of the statement, but should also consider the import it necessarily has upon the policy of THE COMMONWEAL. The statement in question is as follows:

"The bishops of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the General Meeting at Washington, November 14, 1935, call attention of all Catholic groups in the United States to the distinction between Catholic activity and Catholic Action. The bishops remind all groups according to the instruction of our Holy Father, Pope Pius XI, that there is no such thing as Catholic Action until there is an episcopal commission. For a diocese there must be a commission from the bishop of a diocese, for a province from the bishops of a province, and for the country from the bishops of the United States. The Holy Father only can give a commission for the universal Church on Catholic Action. When His Holiness does so he communicates with the bishops."

The application of this authoritative ruling by the bishops to the work of a lay journal, and the lay organization which publishes it—such as THE COMMONWEAL, and The Calvert Associates—is quite clear, and, we may add, definitely helpful to us. We may add that the view it establishes of our status is one that we have always held, and which we have tried to establish, namely, that the work of this paper and of the organization which has supported that work cannot be considered as a part of the official Catholic Action of the

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Church. We hope, and we believe, however, that it comes well within the scope of auxiliary Catholic activities. But in no way is this journal commissioned to speak authoritatively on behalf of the Church. It is no part of the teaching body. It cannot presume—nor would it consciously seem to presume—to be considered an official voice of Catholic Action. Its editors, and the members of its Editorial Council, of whom the great majority are laymen, are simply individuals who fully accept the authority of the official teaching body of the Church, together with the full doctrine of the Church itself, and who attempt, as individuals, or collectively as a group of individuals, to use their intelligence as correctly as possible in writing about common public affairs in the light of Catholic teachings, but never officially.

We think that in so doing we represent a large and growing body of men and women who are moved and enkindled by the great and splendid growth of official Catholic Action, and are anxious to serve, to the best of their individual or collective abilities, as auxiliaries in the world to the authorized and official groups directly commissioned by the *Ecclesia docens,* the teaching Church. We regret sincerely if any of our readers, in the past, have mistaken our position in this matter; more especially if their mistake has been occasioned by any faulty or ambiguous expressions on our part, made in the course of commenting upon either general affairs, in which a Catholic interest was involved, or ecclesiastical affairs as such. We are not conscious of any such lapses, but if they have occurred we unreservedly disclaim them.

It is the laity of the Church that is the operative instrument of the whole tremendous forward movement of Catholicism which is so evident today, and which bids fair to increase, even as the need of the world for the action of the Church must increase as the social crisis proceeds. But, of course, the laity cannot possibly be the controlling factor of the movement. Direction and control, and the authorizing of particular aspects of Catholic Action, must rest in the hands of the bishops.

We do not, however, mean to say that even authorized forms of official Catholic Action cannot proceed from the initiative of the laity. Of course, they may, as often, in the past, they actually have. New ideas, original methods, or novel adaptations of traditional methods, may well occur to lay minds—but, having so occurred, unless from that point onward their course is submitted to legitimate authority, such new lines, or novel variations, of Catholic Action cannot take their place within the orderly processes of Catholic Action without the validation of ecclesiastical authority.

THE COMMONWEAL, therefore, fully recognizes not a limitation, but a fuller and freer field of activity, in the definition, the ruling, supplied by the leaders of the Church in the United States. In Catholic Action, as such, it finds, so to speak, the powerful dynamo, the illuminating guide, from whence it may derive energy and obtain light for its own unofficial and voluntary efforts to increase general knowledge concerning Catholic Action, and to work for the general good of the American nation by activities which, we trust, are representatively Catholic because their inspiration and their guidance are derived from Catholic principles.

And as we survey the field outlined not only for official Catholic Action—the direct, authorized labors of the teaching Church and its designated instruments—but also for unofficial Catholic activities, by the reports of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, we believe that individual and unofficial efforts, such as are put forth, inadequately, of course, yet sincerely, by such a journal as THE COMMONWEAL, have a part to play in the Catholic movement of our age that should inspire its directors and its readers with zeal exceeding any hitherto displayed. It is evident beyond the peradventure of a doubt that 1936 will intensify the realization of the fact that the Catholic Church is functioning today with positive power, and that the world requires its influence more and more. We ask our readers to unite with us, therefore, during the critical year now opening, in trying to make this journal a better, and ever better, instrument of the literary movement among the laity which is a by-product, but a most important one, of the official Action of the Church.

Week by Week

THROUGH the gauntlet of seemingly endless litigation what we prefer to term a caricature of the New Deal is running. Why a caricature? Because the essential purposes of the Roosevelt administration were so sound and so abundantly in keeping with the wishes of the people that no group, however strong and determined, would ever have been able to muster the courts against them. But there has emerged besides a "double" of the New Deal—a legislative entity that stands for an attempt to move faster and more theoretically toward a hoped-for objective than public opinion has been willing to go. One can assume that the attempt has been on the whole right without at the same time conceding that it was wise. It is of the essence of democracy that coercion will not succeed where a coalition of energetic minorities is in opposition. To enforce laws which run counter to the wishes of several kinds of people is to do the impossible in America. Every resolve to administer such legislation necessarily involves

The Trend of Events

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ceaseless appeals to the courts. And so one may see in the present mass of litigation, the most recent examples being concerned with labor and the utilities, not merely a fundamental difference of opinion between a progressive President and a stand-pat judiciary but also a proof that the work undertaken by the federal government is considerably greater than it is prepared to handle. The holding-company measure alone is bound to be the theme of conflicting court decisions for years. It may lead eventually to a demand for a new constitutional amendment granting the state more power over corporate enterprise than legal precedent allows. But at present the struggle is consuming huge quantities of energy without, so far as one can see, benefiting anybody or anything.

The European Maze

SIGNIFICANTLY enough, European public opinion triumphed over "secret diplomacy" when the plans of Messrs. Baldwin and Laval to rescue the entente with Italy broke against the widespread conviction that in as dark an hour as Western civilization has witnessed during centuries the solidaristic defense of international agreements must not be abandoned. Definitively popular sentiment was proved to be with the League, though few have been willing to say just how powerful they wished the League to be. Of course Britain has done rather better during the conflict than France. Her statesmen have professed their reluctance to shoulder as much responsibility as Sir Samuel Hoare at first appeared willing to assume. The whole recent diplomatic spectacle might, indeed, be interpreted by the cynical as a maneuver by Downing Street to get out of a tight spot. Demands presented to various Mediterranean powers after the rejection of the peace proposals clearly indicated a British resolve to risk no war in the *mare nostrum* alone, and at the same time expressed the hope that a show of combined strength would leave an impression even upon Mussolini. If this policy were to succeed, an immensely important development in League history would have come to pass. A military alliance would have been effected to carry out a fiat issued in Geneva. The significance of that could hardly be overestimated. Unfortunately, it is true, major problems of right and wrong remain unsolved. The truth would emerge that Europe as a whole is content with the settlement reached at Versailles, and then there could be no other result than the division of continental powers into League and pro-League camps. This final consequence the British would accept reluctantly, but it may well be that there is no long-range alternative. If Europe cannot find peace collectively, in respect for just laws justly imposed, it must seek it eventually through a return to the old and infinitely dangerous system of coalitions.

Personalism and Dictatorship

SPEAKING in New York, Professor Etienne Gilson stressed the excellent point that in the realm of human relations Christian thought culminates in the doctrine that man is a "person" rather than an "individual." This means: there is always something in man which no atomic theory of the State can embrace, and which as a matter of fact is consonant with nothing save liberty. It occurred to us while listening to M. Gilson that freedom may be imperiled because too much stress was laid on "individual" rather than "personal" liberty by an age indifferent to philosophic truths and too hasty in pursuing "success." The room for action accorded the untrammeled "individual" was only so much rope with which eventually to hang himself; for he was merely one in a mass of ones, who depended upon domination for emerging above his fellows. There was no bond between him and his fellows other than that they too were "individuals," though of different "classes." In the doctrine of "person" no isolation is, however, implied, because one can assimilate it only by being uprightly willing to recognize its application to others as well as to oneself. For in the ultimate analysis "being a person" is a gift, from none other than God, acceptance of which implies responsibility. One cultivates "personality" qualitatively rather than quantitatively. The Christian doctrine boiled down to its essentials is: one *may* be as poor as a hibernating woodchuck but one *must* be a "man." This, and this only, exacts freedom. On no other basis is liberty desirable, or perhaps even conceivable. And that is why throughout the world the "enslavement" decreed by Christianity is today culminating in a last stand by Christians, who are today alone in the glory of dying for the right of being themselves.

The Gentle Art of Murder

TWO GREWSOME tragedies have called attention once more to the total inadequacy of the nation's traffic regulations. In the one case it was a train which the bus-driver failed to see; in the other case, it was a drawbridge. Everyone knows that these catastrophes were exceptions to the great American rule—the rule which enables an automobile driver to take a chance and get away with it. For every ten thousand times a bus dives hastily across a railroad track, one fails to "make it"; for every million occasions that an autoist fails to be guided by signs, there is just one casualty. So kind is fate! It is, doubtless, useless to inveigh against human carelessness and levity. But at least there can and ought to be unceasing complaint against the conditions which add so much to the natural hazard. The grade crossing is always a danger: why, then, do grade crossings remain? Money is lavished on

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perfecting roads where the older ones still serve the purpose, but the railroad is seemingly expected to cope alone with a problem bequeathed to it by conditions over which it has no control. And, again, modern trucking dots the arterial highways with conveyances which manifestly are like dinosaurs in a realm of rabbits. One can neither see round these cumbrous monsters, or trail along forever behind them, absorbing the melody that grunts from their exhaust pipes. Such contraptions unquestionably belong on rails, and not on public highways. The autoist can only marvel at the collective stupidity of the state. While speedier and better machines are provided him, the roads are obstructed with an increasing number of objects which render speed more dangerous.

THE LEAVING of the United States by the Lindberghs should be a reproach to several types of Americans. First of all, of course, it should be a reproach to the crooks, to the men and women who think that the way to make a living is to be dirty, nasty, violent and vicious. They, to our shame, are not a few and it is often difficult to tell who they are and what particular method they have for living their tortuous lives. Second, it should be a reproach to the fireside sociologists who by whispering campaigns and by loud sounds and fury from their swivel chairs, join the Communists in seeking to undermine our established means for effecting justice in this country. One of the leaders in our criminal court procedure, speaking to us recently on the sad grist of criminality in this country, dwelt on the strange difficulties thrown in the path of the public official who is no black-hearted monster who is trying simply to put under restraint persons who deserve richly to be restrained for the good of the defenseless, the persons who do not go around constantly armed to fight thuggery as though this still were a pioneer country. Where the machinery of law and order is corrupt, certainly it should be cleaned—but we are in danger in this country of being betrayed in our own homes by a lack of respect for law and order, and an informed backing up of the men and women, many of them hard driven and poorly paid, who are on the firing line in the working out in fact of law and order.

United States Crime

THE CONTROVERSY as to whether Shakespeare is or is not suited to the films has assuredly not been settled by the appearance of the ambitiously made movie version of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." That picture is admitted on all hands to have both virtues and faults; but there is no unity of opinion as to whether the faults are inherent in the medium or in the casting or in the direction—for there are those who suggest that even the great Reinhardt nodded once or twice in the course of the production. An able word is added to the discussion by the provocative critic Mr. Richard Watts, jr., in the current *Yale Review*. Mr. Watts considers that the motion picture's qualifications for dealing with the greatest of poetic dramatists are more than respectable. He notes—and it is our impression that he is the first to do so—that the multiplicity of scenes in Shakespeare, the quick weaving of the action among widely separated backgrounds, in a word the celebrated shattering of the old dramatic unities—constitutes a strong resemblance to an actual movie scenario. He points out also that "the screen at its best has a curiously Elizabethan . . . quality," and cites "the hearty, farcical low-comedy relief, . . . the highly colored dramatic action, the tendency to believe that heroes should belong to the upper classes," as proof. There is just one serious difficulty—the lack of actors trained to speak the lines of poetic drama properly. Mr. Watts finds this lack plentiful on both sides of the Atlantic, in spite of the partial exception which would be taken to his words by British actors. We incline to think that he is a great deal more right than wrong all along the line.

As to Shakespearean Films

WHETHER or not Mayor La Guardia's proclamation banning the sale of artichokes throughout the city will have its intended purpose of breaking the artichoke monopoly, remains to be seen. It is probable that the mere practical question will give way to the general wonder that there should actually *be* a corner in artichokes. A corner in bread, or milk, or meat, or grain is an understandable thing. These are the support of life, the things that no one, how modest soever, can do without. A monopoly that embraced any one of them would be bound to bring a fortune to the strategist who had achieved it, and by the same measurement would constitute a public menace of the first order. But a monopoly in artichokes sounds to the casual hearer a little like a monopoly in grouse or caviar. For somehow the literary connotation of these things is one of luxury, and this suggests relatively few consumers, and they composed of elegant private groups to deprive whom of these particular indulgences would not exactly create a public emergency. Even many well-fed people never taste an artichoke from one year's end to the other. Hence it comes as a distinct shock to learn that the artichoke is an ordinary item in the diet of the Italians of the city. Can it be that the Russian *mujik* daily downs his quota of pearly fish eggs? Or that the Scotch peasant on his native heath lives on oatmeal *and* grouse?

Artichokes in a Corner

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THE BATTLE AGAINST WAR

By ELIZABETH M. LYNSKEY

What is being done to aid the cause of peace in a world apparently eager to fight? In the following paper—which will be issued in two instalments—Miss Lynskey summarizes the achievements of the past year, introducing at the same time a critical evaluation of the trend. She treats in some detail the discussion which has been rife, especially in England, regarding the Holy See's attitude toward the Ethiopian war. As a whole the chronicle seems of great interest and importance.—The Editors.

A CURSORY examination of the daily press items in this country shows that all the agencies of public discussion are now being vigorously used on the question of war or peace. The anti-war movement in the United States has now reached the point where the separate peace groups are striving for unity or a "united front" and acceleration of tempo is felt.

So, in September, the Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom inaugurated an international campaign to obtain 50,000,000 signatures throughout the world to a "Peoples' Mandate" to end war. The women "demand" that all governments immediately stop increasing armies or armaments, use existing international peace machinery, secure a world treaty to reduce arms as a step toward disarmament, and create international agreements to "end the economic anarchy which breeds war." Of all their measures, this last one is the most significant, but it is hard to see how these advanced aims are to be effected without more driving force than 50,000,000 signatures "mobilized for peace." The last point was further emphasized in the recommendations made to the State Department in September by representatives and members of a number of national peace organizations. They urged that this country not only maintain a policy of neutrality, but also "pay the price of peace" by cooperating with other nations in preventing war "by the adjustment of economic conflicts which, if unadjusted, open the way to war." Among these individual leaders were Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, and Monsignor John A. Ryan—names long associated with constructive efforts to do away with war.

Early in October, the World Alliance for Friendship through the Churches sponsored a plan to set aside Sunday, November 10, as a "Mandate against War Sunday," in union with churches in other lands, and in cooperation with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, whcih has devoted the Sunday nearest Armistice Day to the cause of peace for several years. The National Peace Conference, a loosely united association of twenty-nine peace agencies in New York, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace both entered upon plans for coordinating the work and programs of American peace groups, early in October. Most impressive in this month was the mass meeting arranged by the Committee on Religious Life, a body organized by twenty ministers of Washington, D. C., in February, with endorsement of President Roosevelt. On a platform lined impressively with the chaplains of House and Senate, Army and Navy, and with prominent Protestant, Jewish and Catholic clergy, the Secretary of State of the United States urged the churches to enter a "flaming crusade" against contemporary evils and particularly against war. This demonstration of religious solidarity for peace was followed within a week by the nation-wide emphasis on peace questions in the observance of "Loyalty Day," when church attendance was promoted; and also by the announcement of a student program for peace.

The student anti-war movement is somewhat hard to evaluate, because it has been of such diverse character, so youthfully ebullient, and so often tangled turbulently with local issues unrelated to war and peace. A considerable portion of it is under adult direction of some sort, or depends upon adult cooperation. Since the foundation of the League of Nations, student interest in international relations throughout this country has been fostered by study clubs and lectures arranged and supported by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, by essay contests sponsored by the League of Nations Non-partizan Association, and by regional Model Assemblies of the League of Nations attended by student delegates, a movement now in its tenth year.

All the foregoing forms of student action are established forms of student expression, and emphasize study rather than "action." Students who prefer to participate more actively in political affairs have recently formed other associations which emphasize action. The National Students' League, with students' sections of the socialistic League of Industrial Democracy and of the National League against War and Fascism, have tended toward more violent forms of "anti-war" activity. Among other things, they have agitated in favor of students taking the so-called "Oxford Oath": "I refuse to support the government of the United States in any war it may

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undertake." They have further engaged in the picketing of consulates of non-democratic countries, in street-corner speechmaking, in mass parades; and they have twice supported, in successive springtimes, a "national student strike against war." This autumn, together with the National Student Councils of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., the more conservative American Youth Congress, the National Student Federation of America, and the Committee on Militarism in Education of the National League against War and Fascism, these more aggressive student groups worked for peace assemblies as Armistice Day programs—a policy which a number of educators had already put into effect.

The anti-war strike of April, 1935, which most of these groups supported, took a variety of forms and found varied reception on college and university campuses, as well as in the high schools. Critics of student action objected most to the "Oxford Oath" and the use of the term "strike" directed against studies; with certain exaggeration they charged the whole anti-war movement with communistic and revolutionary intentions. Communists may have a relatively large portion of the membership of one of these groups, the National Student League, and "boring from within" was recommended to young American Communists in last summer's party conferences at Moscow; but evidence is lacking to support belief that Communists have captured the direction of eight national youth organizations of such diverse character and membership.

Religious motivation for the anti-war action of young people in a number of Christian youth groups furnishes further weighty proof that Communists are not the only, or even the largest, driving force behind the agitation. Peace questions of world import were given special attention in the plans for the 275 vacation Bible schools of New York City last summer, in cooperation with the program of the peace action committee of the Greater New York Federation of Churches. The press reported that the principal subject of the training of the teachers for these schools at Friends' Seminary, Stuyvesant Square, was the approach to these peace questions. The International Christian Endeavor convention at Philadelphia last July undertook to create an international peace organization among the youth of all nations, with the express purpose to show that interest in peace was not a Communist monopoly. International organizations of Catholic students for peace action have been in existence for more than fifty years; their form, character and activities are quite thoroughly summarized in pamphlet No. 19 of the Catholic Association for International Peace, "Catholic Organization for Peace in Europe," but the movement is still in its infancy among Catholic students in the United States. Another church anti-war group of younger people, under the leadership of Dr. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church, New York City, has conducted numerous forums on the symposium plan, on peace issues. Some of the members of this group marched this spring in New York's anti-war parade. Dr. Holmes himself is not only an ardent speaker against war, but is also co-author of this year's pacifist play, "If This Be Treason," which has religious motivation.

Incidentally, several dramas condemning war directly or indirectly have appeared in the New York theatres in the last few years. Among the former, "Wings over Europe" was a moving argument for the League of Nations; "Peace on Earth" ferociously attacked the present organization of society as conducive to war. "Dealers in Death," "The President Vanishes" and numerous others were cinematic exploitation of the interest roused in the Senate munitions investigations. "The First World War" and some of the daily newsreels have aimed to depict the horrors of war realistically, in the hope of stirring sentiment against it, but their success in this aim is questionable.

Within the churches proper, the anti-war movement has been less violent and spectacular, and more philosophical than in the college, as might well be expected. At times the discussion has waxed almost doctrinal, as might also be expected. In Protestant and Jewish circles, debate has centered about the repudiation of war as a policy condemned by religion. A questionnaire was sent by a committee of churchmen to approximately 100,000 Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis. Only about one-fifth of the number answered the questions asked, with somewhat inconclusive results; for while they were divided two to one against their participating as combatants in wars, with one-eighth in doubt, they were divided almost equally in their willingness to participate in war as chaplains, and in their belief that wars of "defense" could be sufficiently distinguished to merit support. A large majority opposed military training for boys, favored our entrance into the League of Nations, and believe that American efforts to protect nationals should confine itself to pacific means.

The issue of war support was presented to a number of denominational meetings, national and international in their scope. In May, the 136th New York Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church divided sharply over the morality of war, and unanimously accepted a compromise resolution which condemned war as a method of settling international differences and declared its abolition to be one of the chief objectives of the Christian ministry. Jewish leaders of the United States met a similar issue in their Central Conference of Rabbis last June, when they voted down a resolution which would have pledged the

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members of the conference not to support any war, and approved a proposed amendment to our national Constitution, which would make a national referendum necessary to the declaration of war, except in cases of invasion. Both these conferences were alike in favoring the entry of the United States into the existing world organizations for the maintenance of peace, in condemning war as irreligious, in distinguishing between aggressive and defensive wars, and in disagreeing over its complete repudiation.

The advocates of the "Oxford Oath," while failing in their attempt to obtain conference sanction for the repudiation of war, held a "Ministers' Peace Meeting" at Riverside Church early last May, where 240 Christian and Jewish clergymen, acting as individuals rather than as representatives of their churches, led a congregation of more than 800 in subscribing orally to this pledge:

> In loyalty to God I believe that the way of true religion cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country I support its adoption of the Kellogg-Briand Pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction, I therefore renounce war and never will support another."

Renunciation of war in this form is a personal matter, applied according to the consciences of those concerned. In this connection, a somewhat similar question has risen in other countries. English Episcopalian members of the Clergy Pensions Institute have begun to inquire whether in conscience they can profit from shares of the British munitions firm, Vickers, Ltd., held by the institution. At Berlin, in 1934, the World Baptist Conference contented itself with the declaration that it believed war "contrary to the mind of Christ," but it went much further than any of the aforementioned anti-war pronouncements in meeting the problems which give rise to war. After indicating the need of a "commonwealth of nations possessing authority and means for redressing and preventing international injustice," it approved, in more extended form, the following:

> This Congress, therefore, urges all its constituent bodies by all possible means to induce the governments of their respective countries to declare themselves ready to surrender whatever of their national authority it may be necessary to surrender in order to establish an international authority for the maintenance of the peace of the world as a basis of equity and right.

This resolution practically sets forth the tenets of Catholic ethics on the morality of nations, and is profound in its implications of the unity of mankind and of the moral responsibiilty of governments for settling disputes in peaceful ways.

Religious leaders have suggested that Pope Pius XI lead "the religious forces of the world in a crusade for peace," or "call a universal religious conclave for world peace." These suggestions indicate that the speakers understand neither the teaching function of the Holy Father, nor his position as the Head of the Church. It would be physically impossible for the Pope to take upon himself the political duties of determining public "rights" and "wrongs" among the nations of this world; but if he were even to attempt it, what would not be the epithets hurled at his head? If he is to call a conclave, whom is he to address? What other "religious" leaders can speak for their people with the authority with which he speaks for his? If he were to call one, who would come? Where could he call one, save at the Vatican? Would this be permitted him? In the light of these questions, the demands are sentimental.

Sharp remarks were directed at the Pope, the Church, and particularly at American Catholics by Lord Dickinson, president of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Church, in the London *Times*. He first cited the declaration of the heads of Protestant and Orthodox Churches, made through the Universal Christian Council on August 22, to the effect that Italo-Ethiopian aggression "would be an intolerable wrong to mankind and a sin against the law of Christ." He went on to refer to the Pope's position as a "notable exception," and his words are given as follows (New York *Times*, October 14):

> We are still waiting for the head of the Church of Rome to condemn the breach of faith that delegates of fifty-three nations at Geneva have declared Italy to be guilty of. May I ask with greatest respect for that world-wide community, what does the Church of Rome think of the inaction of the church in Rome? . . . Is the great Roman Church in America willing to side with a disturber of peace? I cannot believe it and if not, will they speak out soon? By so doing they could end the massacre of Christians by Christians in Ethiopia and assert the ecumenic character of the Church of Rome, which is in danger of becoming a pro-Italian agency.

The letter was answered in an address of the Most Reverend Arthur Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster, who not only expressed his own indignation at the course of events in Africa, but also cited the many attempts of the Pope and of his predecessors to avert wars.

If the officers of the World Alliance for Friendship through the Churches really wish the cooperation of American Catholics, this is emphatically not the way to get it. The Pope's work for peace is appreciated in this country, and misrepresentation of this character will be resented. It is hard to believe that any head of a religious group associated for purposes of friendship should be so singularly ignorant not only of the Pope in the Church and of the Church in Rome but also of the many statements Pope Pius XI has already made, with direct application to recent events.

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DISPUTED TERRITORY

By JOHN NIBB

BULLETS, bombs and blood, a generous expenditure of all these has been made in recent times with a view to determining by such means whether a portion of land in the Gran Chaco should really belong to the state of Bolivia or to the state of Paraguay. It is probable that not one Bolivian or Paraguayan in a hundred would be at all worried over such a question—despite oil fields—were it not that the forces of nationalist propaganda have been active on both sides and have instilled into plastic-minded multitudes the notion that slaughter of the "wicked enemy" is a patriotic duty.

This article, however, is concerned not with the claims of South American governments to certain portions of land, but with the problem of discovering the rightful ruler for a disputed territory of the mind, lordship of which may be challenged by Church or by State or even by a third party; I refer to the region of political morality associated with the scholastic's phrase *altum dominium*.

For some fifteen centuries friction between ecclesiastics and statesmen concerning their respective spheres of influence has been more or less continual, and the conflict has so far resulted in the cession of mental territory by the Church and the consequent strengthening and extension of the State's power and sway, a result in harmony with the retrogression of civilization from Christianity to paganism. Maybe in the early Middle Ages the expectations of churchmen were somewhat excessive—privileged courts for the clergy may well seem an extravagant demand—but in modern times all the extravagance emanates from the civil authorities, the Church perforce accepting a sphere of action much more confined than might reasonably be claimed in virtue of her warrant. It is a far cry from the days when papal Rome could prohibit usury to the time when the Catholics of the eternal city have to sacrifice not merely economic but basic political rights, from a Charlemagne to a Hitler. Even in the lands where democracy—of a kind—still persists, the encroachments of the State have reduced the Church to fighting in the last ditch for the supremacy of Christ and bare essentials, and even here the attacking State paganism takes captive many Christians. It is hardly possible today for any advocate of the omnipotent State to accuse churchmen of aggression within the bounds of civil jurisdiction. To prevent friction, so compromisingly does the Church act that she frequently retains reticence on problems of a quasi-moral quality or even transmits them to the State for a solution.

Consider, for example, modern forms of recreation; many, if not most of them, involve the infliction of annoyance upon other people and the infringement of their rights. Fun-fairs, "joy" airplanes, gramophones, loudspeakers and various other means of individual entertainment have become so well-nigh intolerable that in England an Anti-Noise League has recently been formed for the purpose of securing at least some element of restfulness for enraged and outraged sections of the population. It is not a question of charity but of justice, and one might suppose that the Church would adopt some attitude in what appears to be at least in part a moral issue; but no! One well-known London preacher did consider it a point for pulpit treatment, but he is regarded by his confères as something of an "extremist."

Even more pressing is the question of human slaughter in the interest of the cult of speed. Every week in Great Britain, where petrol vehicles are more numerous per square mile than anywhere else, some 150 persons are killed and some 5,000 injured by road traffic, the resultant tragedies being sometimes more terrible in the case of maiming than in death itself. These evils occur because in the name of "progress" the public roads, which theoretically offer equal rights to all users, have been permitted to assume the form of racing-tracks for one section of traffic; and individual A's life is sacrificed to the convenience of individual B; it is a case of profits, pleasure and convenience versus life and equity, and the former combination seems to dominate. Here again, the attitude of the Church, if that is to be interpreted through the clergy, is one of neutrality; the average ecclesiastic regards the problem as a sort of No Man's Land, or else he consigns it to the determination of the civil legislators. There is certainly no "clerical aggression" observable today in the relations of Church and State, and the latter has good reason to be satisfied with its conquests. Had the Vatican Council in 1870 proceeded to discuss this relationship, as originally intended, it is interesting to speculate on what might have happened, seeing that even the question of papal infallibility led the French, British and Austrian governments to talk of intervention. Maybe statesmen were more or less conscious that, as Pope Pius IX put it, "the maxims of modern civilizations are, with certain exceptions, false," and a critical investigation of them might prove harmful to State dominance.

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The surrender of ethical territory to the State may denote a modern tendency forced upon the Church by circumstances, but the principle from which such surrenders may be logically deduced goes far back through the centuries, and would appear to have been formulated by the scholastic philosopher's conception of the *altum dominium*. If a government or State is to be endowed with the right of determining whether its subjects, irrespective of their culpability, shall die, or at least be placed in the way of death, then the determination of the rights and wrongs of social, or unsocial, life may also lay within its competence.

But the scholastically established notion of the State's competence in these affairs is not as readily acceptable as is dogmatic truth. When the Church defines Transubstantiation, she does so in virtue of her guaranteed guidance and untrammeled by any association with the State; when scholastic theologians agree, or disagree, upon the implications of State dominance in matters of a politico-ethical nature, the position is different. The Church may surrender to the State the responsibiilty of adjudicating on war issues, but there is a third party, the individual, who claims some share in this vital determination. Since the conclusion of the big war, there has been much activity among individuals whose experience of war itself and of its aftermath has forced them to thoughtful reflection upon this monstrous evil, and millions have registered in writing their resolution not to fight again, while a War Resisters' International has been established to promote uncompromising opposition to inter-State conflict. What proportion of this movement is Christian, it is difficult to say, and also to judge how far such resolutions may prove ineffective during a crisis, but for present consideration the point is that, in a period when calm judgment is possible, large numbers of people are challenging the notion of the *altum dominium* of the State.

The established position is represented in the following extracts from one of the various Catholic periodicals that undertake to answer queries of correspondents pertaining to Christian practise and belief. The extracts represent briefly the orthodox teaching of scholastic philosophy:

> The State has the right to dispose of its members as it sees fit. All individual rights may, for the general good, be occasionally overridden by the State's supreme right or *altum dominium;* the State may, and does, enforce conscription. Those who are convinced that a war is unjust may evade conscription and in extreme cases may even desert. . . . Saint Paul's view of authority is this: "There is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God," though the power he refers to was that of Nero. . . . A sovereign state has the power to make war upon another sovereign state for a just cause. A conscientious objection to war in general is not recognized by the Church, and the proposition that it is lawful to refuse obedience to one's legitimate rulers has been condemned. . . .

Replies of this character do not cover the problems that are advanced by pacifists, and the fundamental difficulties will probably be found to center around the constitution of the State and the State's morality in its exercise of authority.

There is a tendency in conventional teaching to identify a community with its government and to assume that the State is formed by the union of these two, and further that the State bases its decrees and actions upon Christian morality. But it is precisely these assumptions that pacifist mentality is challenging. What exactly constitutes the State? Let us suppose a condition of approaching war; we have then, according to the standard teaching outlined above, on the one hand the government with its right to conscript, on the other the individual with his right to resist. Such individuals may be numerous and may be found in the force depots of the State, the army, navy and police. Presumably an anterior oath would have no binding power if the individual were convinced of the injustice of the war and he would be not only entitled to resist the State but actually under obligation to do so. It would therefore resolve itself into a struggle between the government wanting war and the objectors wanting peace. If the objectors are successful, they will become the State, but from the commencement they were entitled to resist the State that then was. If one is bound to render obedience to legitimate rulers in all save sin, it follows that this resistance, which we have seen is morally justified, must be against sin, or what is taken for such, and that brings us to the heart of the problem: for substantially what the opponents of war maintain is that war is a moral evil, they challenge the notion that governments have the right to make war and they also disbelieve that State policies are founded on Christian morality.

Two definitions that have been going the round since the big war indicate to some extent the lack of confidence that many feel in the political morality of the established nationalist State: "an ambassador is a man sent abroad to lie for his government"; "a statesman is one who will give your life for his country." And would not a committee of impartial theologians be hard pressed to establish the moral justification of any one of the numerous wars that have stained the annals of mankind for a century past? The morality of medieval states may well be questioned, but the immorality of modern nationalist imperialist governments should be fairly obvious. For example, in the space of three years at the close of the seventies, one state alone waged three wars that Christian judgment could with difficulty approve; slaughter took place in Afghanistan, in Zululand,

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and in the Transvaal, and it is improbable that the three responsible individuals, Lytton, Bartle Frere and Shepstone, would have thought of defending this fighting on moral grounds; they were concerned with "British interests," though possibly an additional consideration may have been "national honor"; and British state policy is but representative of the up-to-date world. When a sufficient period has elapsed to enable the historian to view a war in more or less impartial retrospect, how seldom can the verdict be "justified"!

Nor can the difficulties of unfaltering obedience to authority be disposed of by citing Saint Paul, as above. The Apostle's words may perhaps be construed as a vindication of tyranny or as an advocacy of pacifism, but it is still not clear how far they are applicable to other times and places, for campaigns against established governments or despots have received ecclesiastical approval, and even the non-political form of contemporary Catholic Action indicates other than a mere acceptance of the dictates of authority.

The peace forces of the world appear to be inclined toward a modified interpretation of the *altum dominium* of the State, and this newer philosophy may be summarized thus:

> Government finds its legitimate exercise in the prevention of crime and perhaps in its punishment, and in legislation of an indisputably moral character; it exceeds its authority in waging war unless by means of volunteers and against an enemy whose action justifies the conflict, an enemy distinguishable as such, i. e., persons, not nations. The *altum dominium* can be exercised in those spheres which the State rightly controls, the economic, financial and commercial and (within limits) the social, because these are largely the product of the State; on the other hand, the State does not produce life nor the mere ability to support life, and consequently the *altum dominium* cannot morally rob the individual of primary necessities nor yet of life, unless as a penalty for crime and a proved deterrent to others.

The important element in the controversy is the morality of the State, and unless the theologian is prepared to modify the established belief that a sovereign state, a product of the Protestant Reformation, possesses the moral right to declare war, he should be prepared to vouch for the morality of state policy. Whether he could do so after investigating the diplomatic and inner political history of statecraft and the causes, as distinct from the occasions, of war, is doubtful, but failing such modification, it seems clear that the individual will find grave difficulty in unhesitating acceptance of nationalist state authority, and in consequence the mental area associated with the conception of State *altum dominium* will remain a territory in dispute.

PORK WITH THEIR POTATOES

By BERT RICHARDS

THE WARREN POTATO ACT enables the nation's oldest but smallest farming group to set up a dictatorship over 2,000,000 other farmers and the Consuming Public.

Some two score motor trucks filled with men, roll into Washington, D. C., on a crisp October morning. The trucks bear Virginia license plates and their passengers are potato-growing farmers. The focal point of this battalion of tanned, better-than-average-dressed visitors, is a room, any room, large enough to hold them and Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture. They are 500 souls, excluding Mr. Wallace, with but a single thought, the presentation of a ukase that the Warren Potato Act be enforced.

Two days are consumed in arguments, vocal explosions and oratory. Secretary Wallace frankly states his personal opposition to the Act. He agrees to enforce it if funds can be found. Senator Josiah W. Bailey of North Carolina, whose constituents commenced to grow Irish potatoes for market when tobacco became a losing crop, waxes wroth with Mr. Wallace. Representative Warren of North Carolina refers to Mr. Wallace's attitude as "nullification." Mr. Wallace discourses pleasantly upon the value of self-control as opposed to federal control, in farming.

Nothing is brought out which might give the layman the underlying causes of this urge for the Warren Act enforcement. Nobody blames it on the depression. None of the farmers, or their legal and political advisors, suggest that primarily, they are at fault. More speeches are made. Senator Bailey is confident that "money can be found in at least three different places." There are outbursts of applause. Then the trucks and new autos gather up their passengers and roll southward.

If we lift the curtain, behind this bucolic camouflage of hard-pressed potato-growing farmers, we may get a close-up of human futility, senseless cupidity and fuddiduddyism for which the American Consumer, as usual, is expected to pay. We see how we have passed from under the domination of the peanut politicians to that of potato politicians. We note that prototype of rugged individualism, the farmer, hitting the ropes with a high-pitched twang and, to our disgust, we observe the American Sinbad's "Old Man of the Sea,"

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the produce racket, getting a free ride under the sheltering umbrella of the Warren Potato Act.

To the two little water-bound Virginia counties of Accomack and Northampton, known historically as "the Eastern Shore of Virginia," goes the doubtful credit of evolving the idea that 2,000,000 Irish potato growers in the other forty-seven states, can, shall and must be regimented. In the Shore's total population of 60,000 salt-and-peppered over less than 500 square miles of tillable land, farmers number a bare 4,000 and 41 percent of these are "absentee landlords." Nevertheless, this dot on the map, the oldest agricultural aristocracy in the English-speaking United States, has set up an agrarian dictatorship, whose arrogance is equaled only by its scope. Under the police powers of the federal government, this group of rugged individualists, gone "collectivist," seeks complete control of the planting, harvesting, marketing and purchasing of the plebeian "spud" with and without his jacket. It is determined that only one potato shall appear in a beef stew where two, in the past, did lend consistency and carbohydrates to this "Poor Man's Dinner." Let us see why human beings act that way.

The Irish, round or white potato is known to his intimates as the "spud" and is ubiquitous. He appears on every well-managed farm and in nearly every household. He represents real money, for only four other farm commodities exceed him in importance. His annual contribution to the national larder varies from 350,000,000 to 425,000,000 bushels, and you are a slacker if you do not consume slightly more than three bushels in the same period.

Every state in the Union can and does raise Irish potatoes for market. New Mexico at one end with 150,000 bushels and Maine at the other with 36,830,000 bushels, when in an ambitious mood. Fortunately, nature is a lap ahead of science and the Potato States, in order of seasonal production, give a continuous performance. Florida opens the year with thin-skinned new Cobblers, and Maine drops the husky Green Mountains on the platter beside the Thanksgiving turkey. In between these, a carload of spuds rolls to market nearly every time the clock ticks. What a sweet recruiting job when the Secretary of Agriculture starts swearing in his Warren Potato Act Police! A "cop" for every potato patch.

Idaho grows spuds that would make a county farm agent in Brobdingnag turn green with envy. Aroostook County, Maine, comes across with 200 to 300 bushels per acre and wins the Bankruptcy Sweepstakes three years out of five. Thrifty Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, grows only what it can dispose of and never gets "in the red." New Jersey and New York plant what they please and intend to keep right on doing it. But, south of the Mason and Dixon line, particularly on the Eastern Sho', they grow spuds because, like most rugged individualists, they are born gamblers.

This unusually productive section of the Old Dominion was sitting pretty for a long time after Debedeavon, "the Laughing King of Accawmacke," turned over the keys of his domain in 1608 to Captain John Smith. The soil needed but to be tickled with a hoe to laugh with a harvest. The Atlantic Ocean and Chesapeake Bay were in the front and back yards and if an Eastern Shoreman didn't want to fatigue himself at the plow handles, he could fish. Many of them still prefer fishing if somebody will furnish the bait.

The lure of cash developed long after the Eastern Shore had ceased shipping salt, sassafras, flax and tobacco to England. The Irish potato as a commercial crop migrated from New Jersey, wearing the dollar sign, and the Shore fell for it. Between 1899 and 1919 the Shore alone saw its potato fields spread from 13,000 acres to 67,000 acres. Northern markets were deluged with spuds and the potato growers swamped with unpaid freight bills.

One fact was learned by many Eastern Shoremen. That it called for less effort and assured greater personal profits to buy spuds from one's less astute neighbors, for resale, than to grow them. The only equipment necessary was a close-mouthed commission man in the city and an elastic conscience at home.

However, after long travail, finally emerged cooperative marketing. The Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange was weaned, learned to walk and became an outstanding success in the national field of farmers' selling agencies. It taught its people how to properly harvest, grade and package the spuds, and the whole United States, Canada and Cuba became the Shore's ready markets. Money rolled in. Banks sprouted like mushrooms after a light rain. Where four banks had been sufficient for local needs, four-and-twenty did a land-office business. Deposits swelled, to be transferred almost immediately as a down payment on additional potato land. The banker, the lawyer, the doctor and, of course, the enterprising office-holder developed an insatiable appetite for land. The World War arrived and $40 an acre land skyrocketed to $250 an acre and beyond. Potatoes at $8 and $10 per barrel meant more land to grow more spuds, to buy more land to grow more spuds, a la Gertrude Stein. Little farms grew overnight into big farms with nicely typed deeds of trust, which in Virginia are the same as blanket mortgages, only more so.

For twenty years, the Eastern Shore revelled in an unusual monopoly. It owned the early Irish potato markets of the United States. It ran its batting (shipping) average to over 85 percent of all the early potatoes demanded by the American table. It never has overcome the psychological

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effect of being told fifteen years ago by the Bureau of Economics, that it contained the "two richest counties agriculturally in the United States."

There is nothing equal to successful competition to cure a superiority complex. The Irish potato is a quick-growing, lazy man's crop in the early trucking areas and North Carolina, Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri started nibbling at the Virginians' potato pie. Eastern Shore markets dwindled but they raised more potatoes.

More painful and costly were the vicious price-cutting practises indulged in at home. Parasitical selling groups sprung up, like weeds around a dunghill, in the lee of the cooperative organization and sapped its strength. Eastern Shore potato growers in one season spent $60,000 merely to sell a $5,000,000 crop of spuds, for it required that amount to maintain in the comfort they were accustomed to, the horde of individual brokers, agents, produce profiteers and handlers. The farmer paid and still pays a flat rate of $.15 per barrel for selling his spuds, and the more he produces the less he gets. The broker gets his and always gets it first.

Warnings of the danger in the expanding acreage were pooh-poohed. Competition in credit and speculative planting spread like poison ivy on a stone fence. It takes money to finance America's cheapest food commodity but acquisitive money lenders, the fertilizer industry, the potato buyers, brokers and chain store subsidiaries stepped into the breach at the slightest sign that the growers might voluntarily reduce acreage to fit prospective consumer consumption. These non-farming elements were all "bulls" on the production end but "bears" on the selling end.

The Eastern Shore and its environs, finally reached a peak planting of 124,000 acres and pyramided its losses. Then came the dawn, the headache and the potato colic. Markets glutted with potatoes, local banks jittery with unpaid (and uncollectible) notes, fertilizer firms sourly fingering crop liens and the county papers filled with notices of foreclosure and distressed property sales. Eastern Shore potatoes were thoroughly dehydrated and everybody from Florida to Maine had stacks of white potato chips that they couldn't cash in.

For the last four years Eastern Shore agriculture, especially the spud crop, has been financed through federal largess. For two years, the Federal Relief Administration has had its heart touched and its pocket picked through the impassioned pleas of Eastern Shore politicians and potato growers. In order to bolster saturated markets, thousands of carloads of potatoes were purchased at the alleged cost of production to be distributed to the potato-less thousands in the cities. Promptly biting the hand that fed them, some of the local produce profiteers quoted urban buyers lower prices. Relief comes high when Uncle Sam has to pay twice for the same potatoes.

The Warren Potato Act is the illogical expedient coming as a climax to twenty-five years of a none-too-honest speculation in land, labor and food commodities. Its sponsors grow maudlin over the plight of the small farmer but the act, if enforced, will complete the extinction of the independent, self-supporting potato and "truck" farmer by subsidizing absentee landlords, money lenders and the selfish and unethical elements which the produce and fertilizer industries tolerate.

The Eastern Shore is in the limelight because it has been the spearhead of this new Jihad against the taxpayers. It is perturbed because it has a potato problem, but it walked into it with its eyes open. Based on the myth of the virtues of its Anglo-Saxon ancestry, it should have enough decency and backbone to clean up its own weeds without whimpering for the neighbors to do the job for it.

More serious than its potato marketing fiasco, which is merely a symptom, is the Shore's social debacle—the breaking down of its long-established, self-sustaining agricultural economy. Its ruling class has calmly watched the small, solvent farm owners play a losing game of strip poker with produce racketeers, and become discouraged, bankrupt tenants on "the old home place." It shrugged its shoulders as once thrifty tenants became day laborers or went "on relief."

When its disgusted youth sought the paid service of the army and navy, the Shore drafted Negro transients from nearby cities and got them for a "less-than-subsistence" wage. In one ecstatic year it marketed its truck crops for $22,869,175, but now only 6 percent of its farms are classified as self-sufficing and it doesn't raise enough pork to feed a fraction of its tenantry and quasi-peons. That's the record of those who tout a Laputan plan of government-enforced, producer-consumer "Goose Step."

The Warren Act is an open confession by those who support it, of a lack of agricultural common sense and a disregard for social responsibility. It will mulct the taxpayer-at-large of $20,000,000 annually to make good the defalcation of those who speculate in the plebeian Irish potato. From all indications, the taxpayer is going to announce succinctly, "Raise Your Own Pork."

Winter River

The soft gull, like a segment of the moon,
Wanes thinly; waxes then to a wide arc;
The month's mutations compassed instantly;
And, by the light showered from its wings, men mark,
In banked ice channeled, the blue lane of sea,
And tug boats traveling in the frozen noon.

KENNETH SLADE ALLING.

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JAPAN'S STATE POLITY

By JAMES A. MAGNER

AMONG all the nations of the world, Japan seems to be the only one which still claims divine descent and character for its ruler. There was never any serious doubt about the celestial nature of Japanese emperors, in the popular mind, even during the long period of the Tokugawa Shogunate, when the Tenno, or Mikado, was hardly more than a primate of honor in national statecraft. With the Meiji restoration and the inauguration of a parliamentary system, in the latter part of the last century, the Constitution declared that "the Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of emperors unbroken for ages eternal." But it is only in the light of recent events that the world at large has become acquainted with the full significance of that sovereignty.

A few months ago a Chinese editor in Shanghai published an article in his journal, the *New Life Weekly,* called "Gossip about Emperors," in which contemporary kings and emperors were referred to as figureheads and Henry Pu Yi of Manchukuo was called the "puppet" of Japan. The Japanese Military immediately charged that an act of *lèse majesté* had been committed against the Emperor of Japan, and Editor To Chung-yuan was sentenced to jail for fourteen months. When the *China Weekly Review,* published at Shanghai under the editorship of Mr. J. B. Powell, Chicago *Tribune* correspondent, commented editorially on this sentence, a representative from the Japanese military attache's office declared:

> We believe that the Japanese authorities will soon take serious action in connection with the matter. This question is inseparable with that of the *New Life* magazine and cannot be dealt with lightly. It is also known that the Japanese government has also made a vigorous protest over the so-called *Vanity Fair* incident in the United States.

The big stick policy which was applied in the *New Life* incident and brought about a formal apology from the National Chinese government could not, of course, be used in connection with William Gropper's now famous cartoon of the Japanese Emperor, which appeared in the August issue of *Vanity Fair,* but it did result in a protest tendered to the Department of State at Washington. Commenting on the case, Mr. Jo Akabane, secretary of the censorship section of the Home Office, said:

> As it is only too evident that we cannot tell American publishers what not to publish, all we can do is to check more closely American publications coming into Japan.

This is not the only incident, however, which has brought grief to the Japanese Imperialists. On August 10, Mr. Seigiro Yoshizawa, counsellor of the Japanese Embassy at Washington, reported another *lesè majesté* case which took place at Seattle, where a man in a side-show disguised himself in a manner held to be disrespectful to the Japanese imperial court and satirized Japan's relations with a certain country.

In Japan itself, the imperial prerogatives have been pushed to such a point that any indication of disrespect, criticism or presumption against the royal house is taken as a criminal offense, and threats of blackmail and actual extortion have resulted.

The real facts of the matter may be studied best in connection with the case of Dr. Tatsukichi Minobe, the legal scholar, whose teachings on the Japanese Constitution for the past thirty years have recently been condemned. A member of the House of Peers and former professor of Tokyo Imperial University, he taught, in common with many other scholars, that the emperor is an organ of the State, not precisely a distinct being, superior to it or the sole repository of sovereignty. Baron Ikki is credited with having been the importer of the theory and the man who first arranged for Dr. Minobe to lecture before the emperor on the Constitution. The discussion and the theory passed without notice or reprehension until a few months ago, when Minobe suddenly found himself the center of attack from Army circles, led by a retired General, Baron Kikuchi.

The purpose of the attack was obviously to embarrass the Okada Cabinet and possibly the whole party system, in favor of a military Fascist régime. When questioned on his stand, Premier Okada replied:

> The problem is thirty years old, and while the government is determined to deal drastically with it, I do not think it fair to accuse a person who committed an act such a long time ago, especially as Dr. Minobe is repentant.

Army circles replied that, no matter how long ago one might have entertained false views about imperial prerogatives, the crime could not be pardoned. Dr. Minobe was likened to Takauji Ashikaga, the arch-traitor in Japanese history, and the charge of *lèse majesté* was lodged against him by Major-General Genkuro Eto, retired, a member of the Lower House. This charge being dismissed, since the fact of intent could not be established, it devolved upon the Cabinet to issue a statement of the national polity. This state-

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ment, issued August 3, repeated the principles enunciated in the Constitution, as follows:

> The national polity of our nation was elucidated in the command given to the Imperial Grandson by the Sun Goddess Amaterasu-O-Mikami, that the land shall be reigned over and governed by an unbroken line of emperors for ages eternal. In the Imperial Edict issued by the Emperor Meiji when the Constitution of the Empire of Japan was promulgated, His Majesty clearly indicated that "the rights of sovereignty of the State we have inherited from our ancestors, and we shall bequeath them to our descendants." . . . Thus it is clear that the sovereignty lies absolutely with the emperor. If there are theories which state that the sovereignty does not belong to the emperor, and that the emperor is to be regarded as an organ, for the purpose of exercising this power, they are absolutely counter to the basic principle of the national structure. It is to be regretted that academic theories in connection with the basic principle of the national structure have come to be argued. Thus the government places emphasis on clarification of the national structure and looks forward to the enhancement of the national glory. The government desires the cooperation of all circles in this connection.

Nevertheless the statement was regarded as lukewarm. Dr. Minobe was forced to resign from the House of Peers, to which he had been appointed for his outstanding services to the nation, and his books, "A Commentary on the Constitutional Law," "A Summary of the Constitutional Law" and "Fundamental Principles of the Constitutional Law," were banned, while the publication of some 300 other books on the Constitution was suspended pending their examination for evidences of "Minobeism." The Meirinkai, led by army officers, called for the resignation of Baron Ikki and insisted that all professors associated with the theory be expelled from public and private universities.

War Minister Hayaski predicting that many years would be required to eradicate the effects of the opinion, declared:

> The army will watch future developments, and if developments contrary to the statement should arise, prompt steps must be taken. I think there may even exist the necessity of revising to some extent the contents of lectures given at the universities.

Admiral Osumi expressed himself to the effect that

> We military men have to train our minds in accordance with the precepts contained in the message of the Emperor Meiji to the soldiers and sailors in 1882, in order that we may serve for the prosperity of the Emperor.

The Seiyukai party now began to capitalize on the situation, attempting to beat the Military circles at their own game. In a statement issued at Osaka, August 15, the spokesmen for the party assailed the Okada government as "very weak in will-power," and proceeded to a vigorous enunciation of national polity rivaling that of the Army and the Navy. It said:

> The national structure of Japan, above which reigns the emperor, is without peer in the world and is as everlasting and brilliant as the sun and the moon. Our party lost no time in doing its utmost to eradicate the theory regarding the emperor as an organ of the State, once the theory became a subject of free discussion in the Diet. The government should by all means act to settle this question once and for all, and it should act with sincerity to be expected from a government.

What with an appeal for return to parliamentary principles and the Constitution, and a rather noisy agitation for "purifying" elections, on the one hand, and a growing insistence, on the other in military circles, upon the divine descent and absolute prerogatives of the emperor, Japan very clearly stands at the crossroads of a national polity, upon which its future destiny depends. Indications seem to point increasingly toward the submerging of vital party politics and the growth of a military Fascism behind the screen of imperial absolutism. The political parties, particularly the Seiyukai, which is the strongest, are faced with an embarrassing dilemma. At the present juncture, they cannot go counter to the sentiments of imperial autocracy germinated by the super-patriotic military groups, which practically dominate the situation. Capitalization of the Minobe affair will be still more costly, for the strengthening of the royal prerogatives is bound to result in a practical nullification of the Constitution, since "the emperor is sacred and inviolable" and is not to be held responsible for overstepping the limitations of law in the exercise of his sovereignty. This arrangement lends itself ideally to the growth of a Fascist military control.

Besides the civil aspects of this national polity, there are certain cultural and religious considerations which cannot be dismissed lightly. In the last session of the Diet, it was proposed that, for purposes of thought control and emotional development, religious teaching be included in the curriculum of the schools. It is not improbable that the Minobe incident had a good deal to do with this suggestion, and in this case the teaching of Shintoism would be intended, as a cultural interpretation of the foundation of the State. As stated by the Cabinet, in accordance with the national tradition, the emperor is a descendant of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu and is therefore entitled to divine veneration. Meiji shrines, typifying this national worship, have been erected.

The Shintoism of emperor worship must be distinguished from the ancient popular cult of nature divinities, although no clear distinction is

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made in the priesthood of the two. Shinto shrines dedicated to the emperor are not regarded technically as objects of worship. It may be added that reverence at the shrines of the emperor is required only as an act of patriotism and that the acknowledgment of his descent from the Sun Goddess is required only as an assent to the national polity. Nevertheless, all Japanese children are encouraged to pay daily homage to the "konrei" or small sanctuary of the emperor and empress on the playgrounds, and textbooks make frequent references to the heavenly origin of the Tenno, without insisting that this is simply a matter of state polity.

When asked for his views of the future of Christianity in Japan, a native expressed to the writer the belief that official Shintoism and Christian theology are incompatible, and gave an interesting, if somewhat ingenious, explanation. There are two kinds of religions, he said, aristocratic and democratic. Shintoism is aristocratic, inasmuch as the emperor is at its head with the people below. Buddhism is democratic, since it regards everything equally as a manifestation of Buddha, and therefore does not come into conflict with Shintoism. But Christianity, as another aristocratic religion, with God at its head, requires of the loyal Japanese the difficult task of placing God ahead of the emperor. That the intellectual hurdle can be made is evidenced by the fact that there are over 400,000 Christians in Japan. Nevertheless conversions are practically at a standstill, while official Shintoism, with its shrines budgeted by the Home Department, commands the reverence of every Japanese.

The mythical basis of the imperial descent being thus removed from debate and placed upon the basis of national cultural sentiment, the State polity, as oriented by extreme nationalists, is likewise removed from the sphere of discussion and made the standard of patriotism. That this sentimental approach to nationalism is intended primarily for the Japanese and is in no way concerned with the civil and cultural polities of other nations is clear. Nevertheless, the Japanese military leaders are insisting upon the purging of Chinese textbooks, wherever they have been able to force it, and one of their first acts after the conquest of Manchuria was to close up the universities and normal and middle schools which Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and his father, Chang Tso-ling, had established. Practically all mission schools in Korea and Manchukuo have been obliged to conform with the new system, and it is a matter for conjecture how long it will be before the mission schools in Japan will be brought under the same strict cultural direction and state control.

It is difficult to believe that the Japanese leaders who have come into contact with Western ideas, as most of them have, can seriously entertain the conviction that the emperor is of divine descent. The situation seems to resemble closely that of the new Germany, where the pantheon of Teutonic gods is being resurrected to glorify and give greater cohesion to a nation which needs the consciousness of a destiny, to overcome its obstacles. In this development there is also an ironical element which has not been sufficiently stressed. As a matter of fact, a number of the leaders now horrified at the "crime" of Dr. Minobe, including Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi, Communications Minister Takejiro Tokonami, Navy Minister Mineo Osumi, and Dr. Kisaburo Suzuki, president of the Seiyuki party, and Mr. Teijiro Yamamoto, were ministers in the Inukai Cabinet, which recommended Dr. Minobe to the throne for a permanent seat in the House of Peers.

During this period of rapid territorial and economic expansion, however, it is inevitable that military sentiment should dominate the national policies. This is not a time for debate, but for action. Japan has been girding its loins for a struggle. "The arrow," as Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka says, "has already left the bow." Party differences must be shelved. National resources must be organized. National aims must be formulated, and the sense of a national destiny must be developed in every loyal subject. With this in mind, Mr. Matsuoka, recently appointed head of the South Manchurian Railway Company, discussing plans for Japanese control of the Asiatic mainland, declared:

> To carry through these operations, domestic renovation is inevitable. . . . The final goal of my movement is to create something that may motivate the so-called Showa Restoration, and I think it is within sight. It will not be long before the Japanese nation makes dissolution of the political parties its slogan, and this is destined to become the basic and guiding spirit of a greater movement for the Showa Restoration. The true spirit of the movement for dissolution of the political parties is in no sense connected with politics. It is a spiritual movement.

Thus Fascism rises in Japan, as a formation of the Japanese spirit, while a program of territorial and economic expansion goes on, planned by men but sanctioned by the polity of an imperial descendant of the ancient gods.

The Horn Still Sounding

Who has not heard the third blast of the horn
Sound in the sullen dark before the light is born?
Who has not wheeled his horse and galloped back,
The heavy hooves pounding dully over the flinty track,
To see there in the leaden light of morn,
Grey shadows mingled, and the useless horn,
And Roland dead? Who has not known this fate—
To hear the call and speed, yet come too late?

JEAN CAMERON.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen planned to begin on December 29 a new series of talks during the "Catholic Hour," broadcast through Station WEAF, New York, over a National Broadcasting network, each Sunday at 6 p. m., Eastern Standard Time. The new series will continue until Easter Sunday, April 12. * * * The first group of Sisters of Our Lady of the Presentation who reached the mission of Kabwe, Belgian Congo, to take over the girls' schools in the missions of the Scheut Fathers, were greeted by 3,000 natives bringing gifts of bananas, pineapples, maize, rice, manioc, chickens and goats. * * * "The Restorers of Mount Carmel in Maryland," a group composed largely of descendants of the original Catholic families in Maryland, are working to restore the first Carmelite convent in the United States, which is also the first Catholic convent in the original thirteen colonies, at Port Tobacco, Maryland. * * * The native Chinese Bishop of Tsining, Inner Mongolia, turned over his silver jubilee collection for the poor sufferers from floods, drought and bandits. More than 400 women and children, victims of the terrible Yellow River floods, and harbored by the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary at Idushieu, China, were baptized when at the point of death from famine and exposure. * * * "Research by the Catholic Teacher" will be the general topic at the annual Catholic Round Table of Science, to be held in connection with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, January 2, at St. Louis. * * * Receipts for the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the Archdiocese of Chicago for the year ending September 30 exceeded $2,000,000. Over 7,000 families were assisted and, in addition to ordinary material relief, medical aid was given in 3,194 cases. Spiritual works included the validating of 241 irregular marriages, 416 baptisms, 1,394 children induced to attend parochial schools and 455 persons induced to return to the sacraments. * * * The Ladies of Calvary, a group of widows in Paris, maintain a shelter for destitute women who are afflicted with cancer and cannot gain hospital admittance because they are incurable. Much of the time of these charitable workers is devoted to the dressing of wounds. * * * Mr. Christopher Hollis has been contributing a series of American Notes to the *Catholic Herald* of London, written during an American trip. He has found enormous differences between Americans and his compatriots. ". . . Americans spend so large a proportion of their incomes in ways which to Englishmen seem to increase not the amenities but the unpleasantness of life."

The Nation.—The courts of the land created good dramatic suspense before adjourning for the Christmas holidays. Arguments on TVA were finished before the Supreme Court, and questions from the bench seemed to indicate that at least several justices will disapprove its manifold activities in the final decision, expected soon. The Supreme Court was asked to act quickly on the Guffey Coal Act, because the administration is finding it unenforceable while the soft coal operators are not dead certain it must be obeyed. A federal district court in Kansas City found the Wagner Labor Relations Act definitely guilty of unconstitutionality and also of treating the individual "as an incompetent . . . as if he were a member of an uncivilized tribe of Indians. . . ." * * * Senator Schall, the blind denouncer of the President, died as the result of an automobile accident. His death will probably delay the opening of hard work in Congress several days. Politicians gathering in Washington for that event predict that the Townsend plan will be smothered, that the bonus will pass quickly, and that the session will prove by no means a short one. * * * Secretary Ickes is said to be working with Senator Wagner in the preparation of a slum clearance bill for Congress. It will provide an appropriation of $800,000,000 and will, its sponsors say, divorce slum clearance from immediate relief considerations and insure that responsibility for local projects will be centered locally. * * * In an important press meeting President Roosevelt said that during this fiscal year, up to June 30, 1936, 3,500,000 is the top number of employable unemployed persons that the federal government will care for. States and their subdivisions must provide for unemployables (estimated at 1,500,000) and also for any unemployed employables beyond 3,500,000. When asked, "Is the public justified in thinking the federal government is committed to taking care of all employables?" President Roosevelt answered that that was a trick question because the public in fact has not been "thinking" about the problem as a permanent policy at all. * * * The United States Civil Service Commission submitted its annual report, noting an increase in civilian employees in the executive branch of 46,345 for the year, only 4,636 of whom are in the competitive classified service. The total now stands at 719,440. Recommendations are included in the report which prove the Commission intelligently strives for the best possible public personnel.

The Wide World.—After the abandonment (December 18) of the Hoare-Laval peace proposals suggested jointly by Great Britain and France, the European situation grew noticeably more tense. On the next day Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin defended the government before the House of Commons. After blaming most of the trouble about the peace proposals on a "news leak" in Paris, Mr. Baldwin admitted that he had erred but attributed the mistake to sincere interest in the task of preserving European peace. The government was sustained by a vote of 397 to 165. Parliament adjourned until February 4, but the opposition to Mr. Baldwin was so intense that there was a persistent rumor he might retire. On December 22, Sir Anthony Eden was appointed Foreign

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Secretary, the post of Minister for the League of Nations being abolished. It was expected that an effort might be made to enforce still further sanctions against Italy. Press dispatches reported that the British government had sent messages to the Mediterranean powers, inquiring what assistance they would be willing to give if Mussolini ventured to attack either the British fleet or the British colonial forces. It was rumored that several smaller powers, notably Jugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, had promised to give active assistance to the League. His Majesty's government was held to be pressing modernization of the army and navy. * * * The effect of the League action to abandon the peace proposals upon Italy was seen chiefly in the gloom with which the news was received. The Fascist Grand Council voted, it was said, to press the war in Ethiopia and to do everything possible to place the Italian economy on a "self-sufficient basis." According to Washington, shipments of goods from the United States to Italy had increased considerably, the principal staples exported being oils and metals. * * * Fighting in Ethiopia was somewhat heavier, on the northern as well as on the southern front. Addis Ababa claimed success in raids near Aksum and Makale. Italian communiqués asserted that planes and tanks were wreaking havoc. But evidently the heaviest casualties to date have occurred in labor battalions affected by the heat and the disease-laden grime. * * * No progress of importance was registered at the Naval Disarmament Conference. On the other hand, the latest edition of "Jane's All the World's Aircraft" asserts that a race for the air supremacy of Europe is in progress, and that the outcome must be either a four-power air pact or war. The book adds that Great Britain plans to be six years ahead of its naval armament schedule by the close of 1936. * * * In Mexico, President Cardenas continued his attitude of hostility to General Calles and his friends. Addressing an assembly of labor union members, the President declared the "Iron Man" a figure of no consequence. But the nation was manifestly uneasy; and while Calles professed to have no interest in revolution or politics, few were taking these words too seriously.

* * * *

The Pope and Peace.—Addressing the College of Cardinals at a secret consistory, Pope Pius XI declared: "We do not want to refer to those conflicts which for long have preoccupied not only Europe and Africa but indeed the world." And why? The Pope's explanation was clear: "We do not desire to refer to them because . . . there is danger that any words of ours might be misunderstood, or might even be distorted." He added that his point of view must surely be known to all who follow the press, and assured all that the Holy See was seeking by every means at its disposal to serve the cause of peace. It was, of course, evident from the beginning that the papal emphasis upon world peace had been unceasing. Early in the year, he had stated only that it might become the terrible duty of Christians to pray that God might destroy the makers of war. But in late August a convention of Catholic nurses gathered in Rome, and the Pope addressed them informally at Castelgandolfo. Versions of this address were transmitted hurriedly by news agencies, and in some instances gave a completely erroneous impression. It may be added that no formal version of the speech was ever given to the press. In both Paris and London, therefore, newspapers reported that the Holy Father had termed Mussolini's action in Ethiopia a "justifiable war." This was not the case, as any of the texts will show. The Pope merely declared that only arbitration could determine to what extent Italian action was justifiable. Since he had not been named an arbitrator, it was manifestly impossible for him to emerge as one. All Catholics realize, to be sure, that the Vatican has marshaled a crusade of prayer for peace, and that in spite of the exceedingly difficult diplomatic situation in which it now finds itself. Desire that the Pope "speak out" has naturally been strongest in England, for quite obvious reasons. But some of this longing is manifestly attributable to those who consider the Papacy an outmoded institution about which they like to make derogatory remarks. Speaking to the College of Cardinals on Christmas Eve, Pope Pius again stressed his conviction that "God alone" can dispel the "menace to peace" which in this year hangs over Christendom.

Theories of the Crisis.—Though it be like trying to smite down the Blue Ridge Mountains with a nail hammer to interpret what is going on in Europe from this distance, little is to be gained apparently by going to Europe. The press of the several countries glistens with theories one of which is destructive of the other. Newspapers in the centers directly affected—i. e., Rome, Paris and London—may be legitimately suspected, of course, of throwing up a smoke-screen of ample proportions. But in Vienna and Zurich, Amsterdam and Madrid, there can be had for the asking a veritable hodge-podge of expert advice. But after reading much one concludes that the major bone of contention is this: would Mussolini, if forced into a really tight spot, make common cause with Germany and plunge Europe into a kind of funeral pyre of Fascism? Or is such an alliance totally inadequate to accomplish the things he has set out to do? If you are inclined to think Il Duce capable of the *rôle Napoléon* in its most somber form, the alliance looks plausible. But if you reckon that the results of such a step would be disastrous and futile from the Italian point of view, you sniff at the idea. And since nobody knows exactly how well prepared the Germans are, or what is going on in Mussolini's mind, guessing is free and easy. From the military point of view it is, of course, apparent that airplanes could strike at Britain from Germany, whereas a bombing expedition from Milan to London would be fantastic. Again, nobody—perhaps even they themselves—know what the British really desire. Their government is not anxious to bind itself hook, line and sinker to the League; but their public opinion is now more ardently committed to the League than is France itself. The one stable factor in the whole picture is the average citizen's mournful consciousness of sitting close to a powder barrel, fuses leading to which are in the hands of such highly responsible personages as Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini.

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Longless Louisiana.—Since Senator Long's death, his state has grown increasingly "regular." What is still known as the "Long-Allen" ticket of the Democratic organization has shown little tendency of late to fight the New Deal administration. Governor O. K. Allen, candidate for the unexpired senatorial term of his murdered boss, while he has been trying to grasp the torch of local party leadership, has not taken up the quarrel with the President. The machine's candidate for governor, Mr. Leche, has likewise been silent about the New Deal. Allen J. Ellender, who is looking for the next full term as Senator from Louisiana, is supposed even to have solicited administration support. The Share-Our-Wealth movement, none too blooming under the leadership of Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith and nationally now playing second fiddle to the Townsend clubs, is an orphan receiving less and less attention. Politicians are focusing on local issues. The Republicans and big business men of the state cannot oppose the New Deal loudly now because they supported it so recently when it fought Huey Long. Sugar and rice and cotton growers particularly like the AAA. One "interest" has revived since Senator Long's death and is now fighting in federal courts one of the July, 1934, "dictator" laws: a tax of 2 percent on gross revenues was levied against large newspapers, while smaller sheets were left free. The local "great" press has now taken action against the tax, speaking in the quaintly violent language of the law about free speech, discrimination, due process, etc. But the Long machine is trying to keep the law in, claiming: "The statute in fact deals solely with a business which has grown to Gargantuan proportions in recent years, the business of selling advertisements, and imposes upon that business a small contribution for the support of government. The business of uttering and publishing views and opinions and of collecting and reporting occurrences and events of the day is in no wise affected."

Blow to National Prestige.—When it was announced, December 23, that Colonel Lindbergh, with his wife and three-year-old son, had set out "on a small vessel over the North Atlantic in the dead of winter" to make a new home in law-abiding, privacy-respecting England, the American public was all but unanimous in deeming it a national disgrace. Only an occasional ill-considered, dissenting voice was heard to the effect that all celebrities are annoyed by threats, letters from cranks and other inconveniences. Strangest of all was the reaction of the powerful tabloid, the New York *Daily News,* which after joining in the general plea for better protection of law-abiding citizens, continued, "On the other hand, Colonel Lindbergh has always invited publicity by shunning it, after the manner of Greta Garbo. We do think he would have been pestered less if he had acted more as a popular hero is supposed to act, and been less embarrassed in the public gaze." It is recalled that last year a truck had drawn up near the school which Jon Lindbergh attended and suddenly pointed two metal-like barrels directly at the Colonel's son before speeding away. The occupants of the truck, who later were apprehended, proved to be news photographers who had been sent out to "get their picture" and not to return without it. Just the other day a larger car, said to be occupied by camera men of the same news picture organization, frightened little Jon by forcing to the curb the car in which he and his teacher were driving back from school. The picture thus obtained later appeared in a New York newspaper. It was said that recent personnel changes in the New Jersey State Police, which were interpreted to be of a political nature and consequently tending to undermine police efficiency, had been a large factor in the Colonel's decision to seek protection for his family outside his native land. At the moment more drastic crime legislation seems to be the only positive solution offered for conditions that Americans are agreed were deplorable.

Cleavage.—At a recent meeting in London organized by the Catholic Missionary Society the Most Reverend Archbishop Alban J. Goodier, S. J., declared, "It is my conviction that there never was such an opportunity to convert England as there is today. I would go further and say that it is a passing opportunity. People are drifting farther and farther from religion and in thirty to fifty years it may not be possible to get them at all." An instance of this drift is the recent formation in England of the Voluntary Euthanasia Society, which now avers that it has obtained a statement signed by fourteen prominent religious leaders to the effect that "mercy killings" are not contrary to Christian ethics. A bill has already been proposed for enactment which would legalize the killing of invalids, lunatics and others considered burdensome to the community. At a meeting in Glasgow, December 6, Dr. Halliday Sutherland said, "When people begin to tinker with the Ten Commandments, civilization is in danger. And yet this is what many people outside the Christian Church are doing today. If you abolish one Commandment why retain the others? No man can, in the strict sense, create laws for himself." He also stated that the population of Great Britain would reach its peak in 1936 and that if the same rate continues the population will have declined by 5,000,000 by 1954. Dr. Thomas Colvin declared, "Euthanasia is an admission on the part of the medical profession that it is bankrupt in medical research. The duty of the doctor is to cure and not to kill. He has no right whatever to be both judge and executioner."

System or Individual?—The bourgeoisie ascribe the crisis of our day to corrupt politicians, governmental waste and radical teaching, according to Pierre Henri-Simon in a recent issue of *Sept.* The workers blame the decree-laws, "the 200 families that govern France" and the munitions makers, and seek redress through the State. "The Holy Father has not considered it worth-while to devote an encyclical to a criticism of parliamentarianism; instead, one of the most important documents of his pontificate so far, 'Quadragesimo Anno,' poses the moral question of capitalism. That is readily understood. The parliamentary institution is a technique of government; it has its defects and its advantages, it is for governmental

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produce to evaluate them. Abuses, which imply dishonesty or injustice, are not the necessary consequences of the institution, but the effect of political or moral failures imputable to persons. Quite different are the abuses of the capitalistic system . . . the profound changes that it has undergone in the last thirty or forty years have vitiated its nature and have in fact installed a régime which creates a violation of order. . . . It is precisely the fact that 'immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure.' . . . Suppose that these masters of the world were sages and saints, using their unheard of power for the good of the humble masses, this régime which entrusts the reality of social power to a few private persons free from all control, this despotism of money, even if it were enlightened, would still be abnormal, offensive for the dignity of peoples and the sovereignty of states. All the more reason if the masters are only men, slaves, no more and no less than others, of their egoisms and their passions."

* * * *

Government and the Railways.—A prediction, unconfirmed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, that the government plans in the near future the first nation-wide change in rail fares since 1920, was made by the press. A $.02 maximum for day coaches and $.03 for Pullman is supposedly planned. In 1920, the day coach maximum was raised from $.03 to $.036. Experiments with the lower fare have already proved successful in the South and out West, but in the East only the Baltimore and Ohio has wanted the reduction. The Pennsylvania, New York Central, and New Haven, greatest passenger carriers in the country, claim that the reduced rates will mean an annual loss to them of $27,000,000. * * * The Great Northern Railway has to meet a bond maturity of $105,850,000 on July 1, 1936, and a group of bankers offered the money as an ordinary business transaction provided the new issue would bear a 5 percent rate, mature in ten years, be convertible into stock, one-half of each bond at $40 per share for the stock (selling now around $35) and one-half at $75 per share, and provided an underwriters' fee of $1,000,000 be paid plus 1 percent on all the bonds the underwriters actually had to purchase themselves. The railroad planned to accept the offer until it received a letter from Chairman Jones of the RFC: "We appreciate your efforts and those of your bankers to provide this money without coming to the government, but feeling that in offering to pay such a high rate you will be hurting all railroad financing and unnecessarily penalizing your own security holders. Four percent is a fair yield, a good rate in this market. . . ." The railroad let the RFC underwrite its new issue, expecting to save thereby about $11,000,000 in ten years. Chairman Jones recommended that the railroad put aside its savings to help amortize the loan. Thus the RFC stepped into corporation finance, not to relieve distress but to reduce interest rates.

Soak the Poor.—A recent release from the Treasury shows that between 1929 and 1933 there was a heavy shift of the tax burden from the rich to the persons with smaller incomes. It was during this time that former Secretary of the Treasury Ogden Mills was conducting his campaign with the slogan "Soak the Rich" to prevent an increase in the tax burden on the wealthy. The personal exemption on income taxes was reduced to $1,000 for a single person and $2,500 for married couples. In spite of this, on a per capita basis only 2.95 persons out of every 100 filed income tax returns in 1933, compared with 3.28 per 100 in 1929—presumably because of the increasing unemployment among the earners of the smallest incomes. Persons with net incomes of less than $5,000 paid nearly 10 percent of the income tax bill in 1933, compared with 0.45 in 1929. This group, however, in 1933 earned 62 percent of the total taxable income, compared with 32 percent in 1929. While persons with incomes of $200,000 and less paid approximately half of the income tax in 1929, the same tax burden was borne by persons in the bracket of $55,000 or less in 1933. Fifty persons in the latter year had incomes of $1,000,000 or more. The highest was over $5,000,000 accruing to some unnamed person in Illinois. Million-dollar a year incomes by states were: New York, 22; New Jersey, 6; Illinois, 4; Pennsylvania, 4; California, 3; Connecticut, 2; Maryland, 2; Massachusetts, 2; Delaware, Indiana, Maine, Michigan and North Carolina, each 1.

Our Commerce.—The past year was hailed as "the second year of sustained recovery" by Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper in his annual report. He estimated that national income during the first six months of 1935 "was between 5 and 10 percent higher than in the corresponding period of 1934," that business failures in 1934 had been reduced to one-fifth of the figure for the net business losses in 1932, and "available evidence indicates that these have been almost entirely eliminated during the current calendar year" (by which he meant 1935). Analyzing the fiscal year which ended June 30 last, he said, "Perhaps the outstanding feature of the fiscal year just past was the better-balanced relationship established in our whole national economy, following the irregular improvement which characterized the preceding year. As a result, the qualitative changes were of significance comparable with the quantitative gains of the year." He added that the Department of Commerce recommended that "consideration (by Congress) should be given to the numerous proposals received by the bureau for taking a census of unemployment," that direct subsidies to American shipping be based on building and operating differentials between this country and other principal shipping countries, that indirect subsidies be abolished, that there be legislation for the appropriation of funds for a merchant marine naval reserve, that the Commerce Department be given authority to underwrite war risks in connection with American commerce in time of emergency and that it be given further control over interstate carriers in coastwise traffic. The increasing deficits in railroad operation were noted.

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The Play and Screen

Libel

"LIBEL" is a court-room melodrama, but it is not just another one. It is not just another one, not because of any twist or unusual mystery in the story, but because of its characterizations and its dialog. In the ordinary melodrama we do not look for characterization, except the characterization of types, and if the dialog carries on the plot and is reasonably lifelike, it is all we require, provided the action be swift and unexpected and filled with thrills. Now in "Libel" some of the action is unexpected and there are three or four real thrills, but on the whole the play moves along with a certain broad leisure of pace which would have been fatal to its success had it been written in a less distinguished manner. But it has a manner, and a number of characters, particularly the opposing Counsel and the Judge, who are human and amusing without any attempt at exaggeration. It therefore can be judged not only as a mystery play, but as a comedy of character, and as Edward Wooll has succeeded in making one supplement the other he has written an engrossing play. It is always unfair for a reviewer to tell the story of a mystery play. It suffices to say that "Libel" has to do with the suit for libel brought against an English newspaper by Sir Mark Lodden. The newspaper had charged that Sir Mark was not really Sir Mark at all, but a Canadian officer, who had been a fellow prisoner with Lodden in a German prison camp, and that he had succeeded in marrying Lodden's fiancée by making her think he was the Baronet, as well as succeeding to the Lodden estates and getting himself elected to Parliament. The whole action takes place in the court room through examination and cross-examination and the production of surprise witnesses. Whether the complainant is or is not the true Sir Mark I shall leave to each reader to learn for himself, that is, if he is fortunate enough to see the play, but I can safely say that no one who goes will find himself cheated.

Mr. Wooll's play is in addition admirably staged and admirably acted. Raymond Sovey's setting of the court room is dignified and realistic, and Otto Ludwig Preminger's direction fluid and yet incisive. Colin Clive, as Sir Mark Lodden, gives a performance of rare poignancy, and despite his restraint of bearing, we feel his tortured soul. An actor new to New York plays Thomas Foxley, K.C., the chief counsel for the defendants. He is Wilfrid Lawson. Mr. Lawson gives an impersonation of extraordinary pungency. His depiction of the humorous slyness, the restrained malice, the sweetened venom of the English barrister, is done as only a master could do it, and his power when he is angry or embarrassed of suffusing his face until it becomes scarlet, may be a physical trick, but it is an extrordinarily telling one. It is to be hoped that Mr. Lawson is here to stay. The opposing Counsel, Sir Frederick Kelling, is played by Ernest Lawford, and is the very picture of a great English pleader, and Frederick Leister is an amusingly human presiding judge. Joan Marion is attractive and pathetic as Lodden's wife, Arthur Vinton handsome and scoundrelly as the Canadian blackmailer, and Boris Marshalov amusing as a somewhat stagey Belgian physician. "Libel" will never be denominated an "important play," but it is more enjoyable, yes, and more important, than some recent plays which have been hailed with that sobriquet. (At Henry Miller's Theatre.)

The Yale Puppeteers

PUPPET shows are perennially delightful, and the one given by these four young men, Mr. Burnett, Mr. Brandon and the two Mr. Browns, is no exception to the rule. The puppets are well constructed and on the whole well manipulated. The chief weakness at present is in the voices, which could be improved both in timbre and in variety, but there is no weakness in Forman Brown's lyrics. In humor, wit and rhythmic and verbal ingenuity they are admirable. Mr. Brown has a true sense of satire, and it is his contribution which raises the Yale Puppeteers above the level of the clever amateur. (At the Bayes Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Captain Blood

THE PRODUCERS tell us that they spent a cool $1,000,000 and same 360 days to prepare and produce Rafael Sabatini's swashbuckling adventure on the high seas under the black flag of piracy. The evidence is at hand, bringing a fine bit of cinema craftsmanship from Hollywood's workshops which began, two summers ago, to refer seriously to the classics as the supply source for more than just an occasional screen play. "Captain Blood" has been lavishly staged with thorough knowledge and superior skill—from the broad-bladed cutlasses and seventeenth-century corsetry to the great ships of the day and its cities, fortresses and fights. It is real pirate cloth. But there would have been added pleasure from a more swashbuckling Captain Blood than is their young and handsome, six-feet-four Errol Flynn, who is new to these parts from the London stage and the Olympic Games. Not that Mr. Flynn is not an accomplished actor or is altogether an unlikable rogue as he fights a Spanish king's armada. But he radiates too much of the romantic hero and not enough of the boldness and swagger that is required. "Captain Blood" on the whole is essentially a stirring medley of the sufferings of a motley group of Englanders who felt the cruel hand of King James when he shipped them in irons off to the West Indies, there to bear the crushing blows and bruising lashes of a stone-hearted plantation owner. Thus was born revolt and the capture of a pirate ship which they use themselves to terrorize the Caribbean. Thrillingly realistic is the bow-to-bow sea battle between Captain Blood's ship and two French seventeenth-century wardogs.

Scrooge

THERE has quietly arrived in this country from the studios of Twickenham in England a production of "Scrooge" that rates high among the Dickens films. A notable cast of all-English players has captured with fine artistry Dickens's rejuvenation of the squeezing, wrenching, grasping, scraping, clutching, covetous old sinner. The performers and merry ol' England herself in the background give it that Dickensonian touch.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Communications

THE TREND OF RECOVERY

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: It would be difficult to crowd more fallacies or more futile and misleading suggestions into nine sentences than are to be found in the editorial paragraph at the top of the second column on page 59 of your issue of November 15, 1935.

The last sentence in the paragraph is this: "We know now, or ought to know, that the classical arguments against public works have once again been sustained by American experience." Who is "we"? As a matter of fact, the public works method has not yet been tried adequately in the United States. At the beginning of February, 1935, only $2,500,000,000 had been expended for public works since the summer of 1933. Subsequent to last February the additional expenditure has not amounted to over $500,000,000. Now $3,000,000,000 just about equals the combined sum which the different divisions of the government, federal, state and municipal, spent on public works *annually* during the last years of our alleged prosperity decade. To assume that the spreading of that much public work over more than two years ought to have not only supplied the deficiency in public expenditures in the depression years but also to have given a very great impetus to recovery—perhaps gotten us out of the depression—is exceedingly naive. No believer in the public works method ever made any such foolish assumption.

The editorial paragraph quotes one Edward H. Collins writing in the New York *Herald Tribune* (that disinterested friend of the New Deal), to the effect that the AAA has been incomparably more successful than public work expenditures in priming the pump of industry. Undoubtedly this is true, although the employment of about 500,000 men on public works at the peak of PWA activities, and the consequent employment of one to two times that many in providing materials for public work projects, must have had considerable influence in pump priming. That, however, is not the point that I wish to make. The essential fact (overlooked by Mr. Collins as well as by the writer of the editorial paragraph in question) is that the beneficial effects of the AAA upon industry were produced in exactly the same way that they would have occurred under an adequate public works program. That is to say, purchasing power was distributed by the government to consumers who used it immediately; that is the whole justification and purpose of public works; that is the way in which both public works and distributed processing taxes prime the pump and stimulate recovery.

Another part of the editorial paragraph cites with evident approval the opinion that the next stages in recovery will consist of "replacement and reconstruction in other fields than motor car building." As an important element in business revival, "replacement" is no longer accepted by any realistic economist, for the simple reason that replacement of worn out or obsolescent plant equipment cannot take place on a large scale without involving an intolerable increase in plant indebtedness. Our productive machinery is already overexpanded and the amount of replacement that is necesary to keep the machinery going, and that is prudent and profitable, falls under the head of repairs which will have an insignificant effect upon the revival of the capital goods industries. As for "reconstruction" in the form of house building, the field is practically unlimited, but the greater part of the expenditure will have to be made by the federal government, because the kind of houses for which there exists a large potential demand will have to rent at so low a figure ($5 to $7 a room) that they will not attract private capital. In other words, the only "reconstruction" in sight that will get anywhere is really a form of public works.

Finally, the recourse to such devices as air-conditioning to "take up the unemployment slack" is a gesture of farewell to the cause of social justice. It means that our industrial society has come to such a pass that it can provide employment only by making luxuries, and inventing new luxuries, for the rich and the well-to-do. The workers are to be kept busy and get some sort of livelihood in providing luxuries for others instead of producing the necessary and elementary comforts for themselves. The millions now out of work could be usefully engaged in producing more milk, butter, eggs, vegetables, textiles, furniture and other elementary goods for their own use. Instead of so organizing the distribution of income that they can find employment in these fields, they are to be condemned to the making of luxuries for a relatively small portion of the population. Instead of distributing the national income so that men can be thus employed, instead of providing first for the necessaries and elementary comforts of 10,000,000 human beings, the masters of industry are hoping to make profitable the business of furnishing a small minority of the population with luxuries. If they can realize this hope they will look with complacency upon 500,000 of their fellow men condemned to permanent unemployment. They are not willing to consider the only fundamental solution of the problem—to bring about a better distribution of income and purchasing power, to give labor more and capital less. Assuredly this will be difficult. It is not impossible. To shut our eyes to it, to divert attention from it, to evade it, to shirk it—is high treason not only against the cause of social justice but against the enduring welfare of America.

RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

London, England.

TO the Editor: The games which are to take place next year under the auspices of National Socialism must be shunned by every Catholic. These games are in no sense of the term designed to be a non-partizan sport event but they have been made to serve exclusively the international propagandist activity of the Nazis.

At the very same time that this régime is to receive its foreign guests in order to convince them of the "splendid cultural achievements" of Hitlerism, propa-

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ganda will be made for a form of government under which the Catholic Church is to be starved of its rights, the Catholic youth movement destroyed and priests and laymen who remain true to their faith are either imprisoned or put to death. The many millions of German Catholics who suffer under the yoke of German Socialism will not understand it if foreign Catholics, through their participation in the Olympic games, create the impression that they are condoning the terroristic methods of the Kulturkampf to which the Church in Germany is now being subjected. It is not meet that such scandal be given. Concessions and acts of courtesy become deeds of injustice when they are made in a cause which concerns the most sacred possessions of every Christian.

This is an appeal which is being made in behalf of the whole Catholic youth of Germany, which is deprived of a voice inside that Germany at the present time.

HUBERTUS PRINCE LOEWENSTEIN.

Manchester, N. H.

TO the Editor: Permit me to state that I find myself in full accord with your timely and courageous editorial of December 13. The facts you there present prove that you have first-hand information. "In Germany today, those who speak in defense of Christ are denied utterance and are silenced, those who defame and deny Christ are granted freedom of speech." The above is a quotation from one who left Germany only four weeks ago. "Verbum sapienti sat"! More power to you!

REV. DOMINIC SCHERER, O.S.B.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND MEXICO

Clarksville, Tex.

TO the Editor: President Roosevelt's reply to Supreme Knight Carmody is more than a repulse to the great organization the latter represents; it is an affront to the sense of equity of the multitude of American Catholics who have given thought to the grinding tyranny in Mexico under which our brethren in the faith there are suffering. I stress the word "equity." It may be that by the strictest canons of diplomatic correctness, even by the strictest interpretation of international law, the President's *laissez-faire* policy is justifiable. If so, never has there been a better example of *summum jus summa injuria* (the highest law, the highest injustice).

Look at the facts. Here is a Catholic nation at our doors under the iron heel of a despotic minority, denied elementary religious and human rights by federal and state governments coalescing in a régime which has the implicit moral and, by way of an arms embargo, the explicit material support of our national government; a régime which, as far as our present subject is concerned, is the continuation of one foisted on a helpless people by the active intervention of our own President Wilson. Here, too, is another Soviet Russia taking form just across our southern boundary. An express word of condemnation from Mr. Roosevelt—it need not be a threat—would be potent toward undoing the cruel and disastrous effects of our Mexican policy during the last two decades and, more, toward reversing the evil bilateral machine that is crushing all that is best in the Mexican people. And Mr. Roosevelt refuses to speak that word. He will not lift a finger toward ending the intolerable conditions in the so-called republic next us. He harps on non-intervention. He ought to know that such a word, such a gesture would not be intervention. Intervention means diplomatic or military interference in the affairs of another nation.

A word of condmenation would be neither. It would be simply obeying the dictates of humanity to help a long and much suffering "neighbor" by moral influence. Which is the "neighbor" on our immediate South: the atheistic and tyrannical ruling clique, who have the guns, or the mass of the people harassed and wounded to death in their most sacred rights? There is a famous parable, uttered by one of vastly greater authority than President Roosevelt, in which it is pointed out that the "good neighbor" was not this or that one who from motives of convenience shut his eyes to the plight of the sorely stricken man who fell among robbers. The "good neighbor" was the Good Samaritan, who deemed it his business to help the victim.

Yes, Mr. President, you are missing the chance of a lifetime. You are failing not only religion but humanity in their sorest need on the Western Hemisphere, by deliberately refusing to speak the noble and courageous word for which millions, above and below the Rio Grande, would rise up and call you blessed, and which would ensure you in posterity an incomparably higher niche than any you can win by cold, mechanical correctness, or short-sighted yielding to the devious forces of international opportunism, while letting slip through your fingers a grand opportunity.

REV. GEORGE J. REID.

BILINGUALISM

Minerva, N. Y.

TO the Editor: "And here was I, born in Ireland, reading German out of the fourth reader, and speaking it as well as I spoke English." writes Terence O'Donnell in the November 24 COMMONWEAL. A rich sentence that, pointing to bilingualism as an escape from prevailing dullness. Goethe said, "He who knows only one language does not know that language."

As head of a school for twenty years in which pupils from the age of six or seven were instructed daily in three or more languages, I plead the cause of a second language taught early, be it Latin, German, French, or all three, as the simplest and most logical and prolific source of intellectual enrichment for both pupil and teacher.

As the modern school curriculum comprehends everything but the essentials, parents will need to take this work in hand. They may have suggestions from the International League of Teacher-Mothers, Minerva, New York. Send stamps.

ELLA FRANCES LYNCH.

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Books

The Dred Scott Judge

Roger B. Taney, by Carl Brent Swisher. New York: The Macmillan Company. $5.00.

THERE is an extraordinary timeliness in Carl Brent Swisher's life of Chief Justice Taney, although the subject of the biography was Chief Justice of the United States nearly one hundred years ago. Apart from the natural interest that all informed persons in the United States must have in the character and life of a man who presided over the highest court in the Union for nearly thirty years—from the vacancy created by the death of Marshall in 1835 until 1864—the present-day interest in this biography derives especially from two salient points in Taney's career, viz., the battle between Jackson and the Bank of the United States, and Taney's famous, or as some would have it infamous, decision in the Dred Scott case.

The Bank war was one of the major political and economic conflicts in our country's history. Its recital is especially appropriate to our time that has witnessed, a century later, another and greater drama of banking and finance on a national scale. The subject-matter of the Dred Scott decision is now of wholly historic interest. Yet the attempt of the majority of the Supreme Court in that case to determine national policy by their judicial decision, and the criticisms and consequences of that effort, are particularly worthy of study today when the Supreme Court in another great crisis is conspicuously functioning as ultimate arbiter of national policy as controlled by constitutional law.

The author's method is objective. He does not take sides as a partizan, not even the side of the subject of his study. The facts, carefully marshaled with painstaking and scholarly research embracing a wide range of public and private contemporaneous records, are allowed to speak for themselves. The result is cumulative and impressive—far more impressive than any partizan appraisal would be. From it Taney emerges at full length as a citizen, a statesman and a judge outstanding among his contemporaries for unimpeachable personal integrity, judicial ability of a high order, and a personal gentleness and graciousness, and capacity for winning friends that endured throughout his long life.

Taney's preparation for his great office was unique. Coming from the landed Southern aristocracy of Calvert County, Maryland, he studied law at Dickinson College, a Presbyterian institution in Pennsylvania. He read law for twelve hours a day under Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase at Annapolis; at twenty-two he was elected to the House of Delegates, the lower branch of the Maryland Legislature; and became a member of the Maryland Senate in 1816. From the growth of his reputation as an honest and able lawyer he was meanwhile developing a widespread private law practise, first in Frederick, then at Annapolis and later in Baltimore where he achieved unquestioned leadership at the bar, finally appearing again and again in the Supreme Court of the United States before Story and Marshall whom he was to succeed; he

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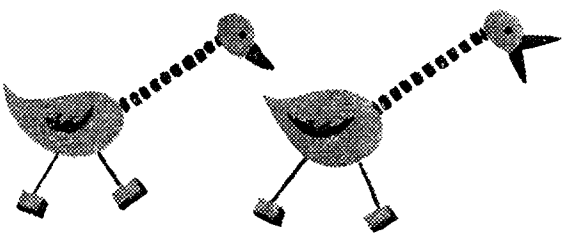

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Next Week

THE CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAM, by James F. Cunningham, a Paulist Father, says, "There is one important issue with which a clergyman is familiar and that is the crime prevention problem. The work of a clergyman has to do essentially with moral difficulties. Here he is at home, he knows the causes of crime, knows many of the remedies, knows the environment whence it rises. He deals with youthful criminals in their homes and at school, he views them in a manner different and distinct from the law enforcement bodies, here he can help. . . . The clergy may know little about the government of state or nation, but in the field of crime and criminals we are dealing with a moral problem and the clergyman above all others is aware of the causes and cures in that particular field." Among the salient points in this vitally interesting article is the statement, "A legislated morality will fail, it is one of fear. What is required is teaching." . . . FRENCH NEWS FROM FRANCE, by Bernard Fay, author of "Ponorama de la Littérature Française," "Roosevelt and His America" and of the recently published, "Revolution and Freemasonry," is a timely paper on the coloring of our American newspaper news by the employment in Europe of Englishmen to do the reporting. Of one of these, whom he identifies, Mr. Fay says, "he is a very good newspaperman and a fine fellow, but he cannot help being a subject of King George V, and that makes a difference." . . . ALMOST A GREAT NOVELIST? by Sean O'Faolain, author of "A Nest of Simple Folk" and "Midsummer Night Madness," is a leisured and pleasant literary paper on the late Canon Sheehan. His trouble, says Mr. O'Faolain, "was that his method was the method of Dickens and his times were the times of Hardy." . . . THE BATTLE AGAINST WAR, by Elizabeth M. Lynskey, will be completed next week. It contains a review, an apologia, of the Pope's actions in regard to Italy and Ethiopia, and then it points out the distinct features in the expanding action of Catholics, clerical and lay, to bring about peace.

was Attorney General of Maryland from 1827 to 1831, when he resigned to become Attorney General of the United States under President Jackson.

Jackson later made him Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and it was Taney's legal mind that supplemented and reinforced Jackson's determination to fight Biddle's Bank of the United States. Finally, after the death of Marshall, Jackson sent Taney's name to the Senate to succeed Marshall in December, 1835. Taney was confirmed by the Senate in March, 1836, and then assumed the duties of the great office which he continued to hold until his death in 1864.

This story of Taney's life reveals a cross-section of the great political and economic struggles of the nation during the whole of the nineteenth century up to and including the Civil War. It is presented in Professor Swisher's volume with the fascination that definite and specific detail always brings to historic narrative. Across the stage on which the drama of Taney's long life was enacted we see, in action and each true to character, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Jackson, Van Buren, Biddle, Polk, John Quincy Adams; Marshall, Story, McLean and the twenty-five other judges of the Supreme Court who were associated with Taney during his long term on the Supreme Bench; Tyler, Pierce, Buchanan and a host of others involved in the major conflicts of that long era. As Chief Justice, Taney swore in seven successive Presidents of the United States from Van Buren in 1837 to Lincoln in 1861.

In these pages the individuals live and in the portrayal of character—always through action rather than characterization—the author frequently presents them with a new point of view bringing out traits of character frequently glossed over or neglected. So rich and varied, so specific in detail, so revealing in personal and historic interest is the vast material here asembled that the temptation to quote is almost irresistible, but the exigencies of space prohibit quotation. The book should be read, and will be read by every informed person, especially those who are particularly interested in our present-day problems relating to national banking and finance, and the important part that the Supreme Court of the United States again occupies in the public mind.

While Taney's religious life is only incidentally referred to, the author points out that Taney's adherance throughout his long life to the Catholic faith was an intimate spiritual reality rather than a mere commitment to creed and that he never swerved in his loyalty and devotion to the Catholic Church as far as his personal conduct was concerned. "Most thankful I am," he wrote in a letter written late in life, "that the reading, reflection, studies and experiences of a long life have strengthened and confirmed my faith in the Catholic Church, which has never ceased to teach her children how they should live and how they should die." The fact that this man, known to all his contemporaries as an outstanding Catholic, was for nearly thirty years Chief Justice of the United States should furnish material for meditation to those who in 1928 opposed the election of a Catholic to the office of chief executive.

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From the perusal of this really great biography we rise with a deep respect for Taney as a man, a statesman, and judge. The study of his opinions during his long career warranted the comment of his present successor, the Honorable Charles E. Hughes, that Taney was "a great Chief Justice." One is also encouraged by observing the extraordinary capacity of our American constitutional system to endure, through long periods of time, great internal strain, and to survive the periods of stress and reemerge not weakened but stronger and more vigorous. This biography also calls attention to what has been largely unrecorded, namely, Chief Justice Taney's far-seeing attempts to interpret the Constitution so as to protect human rights and community rights and to deviate from the then almost universally accepted doctrine of *laissez-faire* to the extent of justifying laws needed by local communities but opposed by the propertied interests.

EDWARD S. DORE.

Crime as Fiction

Crime Incorporated, by Martin Mooney. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.50.

"CRIME INCORPORATED" is an attempt to scare the American public and to swing incense at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am not saying that either one is not a laudable effort. The author creates the fiction of "Crime Incorporated" and then proceeds to treat his fiction as reality. He says: "Of course, there is no giant concern officially labeled 'Crime Incorporated.' There is however, a great grey zone of protected crime that hides under hundreds of duly incorporated firms. For the readers' convenience I have christened this powerful protectorate 'Crime Incorporated.' The Better Business Bureau that perks up business for substantial fees I refer to as the Chamber of Crime Commerce."

The facts that he puts forth to prove this thesis do not accomplish their mission completely. It is easy to admit the sway of a group of racketeers over a particular territory. It is easy to picture a vice lord helping out a neighboring vice lord. But, I think it is too much to ask us to swallow a country-wide Chamber of Crime Commerce. One of the great defects (fortunately) of the underworld is its lack of ability to cooperate. Mistrust and double-crossing, and murder for greed, are common and in such a setting the idea of complete cooperation through the country is unbelievable.

The body of the book is taken up with a description of the various rackets: bagatelle, numbers, the race track, the artichoke and market rackets, stolen jewelry, gun running, prostitution, indecent moving pictures, crime financiers and realtors, and the abortion procurers. His facts on these points are well reported and telling, but most of the crime turns out to be vice. The book might be better titled "Vice Incorporated," although there is a fringe of the violent in "Crime Incorporated."

Mr. Mooney does not name the vice lord or operator although he mentions an Oscar Narrish which by dropping the "O" can be easily spelled into Scarnici; but

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Scarnici is dead. After all, it is hard to scare the American public by shouting indefinitely and by shaking nebulous skeletons or pointing to unnamed terrors. The public must know what it is to fight before it fights.

The author raises the question of professional privilege for the crime reporter. His position is highly debatable as he proves by debating it at great length. It would be much better for him to resolve his theory into "Self-preservation is the first law of nature" and let it go at that. At any rate he shows the full scope of the rackets and the ways and wiles of the racketeers. The task of the "G-Men" is indeed herculean if the main thesis of this book stands up, but I think that it does not.

JOHN P. MCCAFFREY.

Saint Isaac Jogues

Saint among Savages: The Life of Isaac Jogues, by Francis Talbot, S.J. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

GREATNESS of subject has oftentimes been so disproportionate to the ability of a writer that the one becomes drastically circumscribed, the other dwarfed into insignificance. But when both meet on equal terms the result is a happy union wherein one fully complements the other. In "Saint among Savages" the subject and the biographer are exceedingly well met. Father Talbot has brought to this life of Saint Isaac Jogues an eminent scholarship, a true historical perspective, a keen appreciation and a forthright presentation, among many other virtues as a hagiologist; the history of the American martyr is one which inspires, if it does not confound, and invigorates, if it does not overmaster, the writer. Both the Jesuit of seventeenth- and the Jesuit of eighteenth-century America stand out in clear and exact stature: Father Jogues, as the great pioneer priest; Father Talbot, as the writer who triumphs with his theme.

This biography then is one which should go immediately on every "must" reading list. If not read from the vantage point of admiration of a martyr hero, it can be read and enjoyed for the light it sheds on very early American history. Father Talbot has not only described but evoked the full-flavored atmosphere of a barely penetrated continent. He has divested the Indians of the romantic glamor cast about them by Longfellow and Cooper and given them not a general but a specific character as individuals. That great throng of major and minor actors who assisted in the powerful drama—no one reading the book could call it a tragedy—which was Jogues's career, move and live on paper as they did in life. Their place in that huge Canadian-American expanse was at the forks of the roads which led to the creation of two nations; and in the history of Jogues and his times lies the first explanation of why the road did fork.

It is obvious that the art of selection has been finely employed in the biography's writing. There is no sense of any important omission. The author, too, had a singleness of purpose and whereas he neglected nothing which would supply needed detail he avoided the temptation of exploring attractive but tangential paths. Even where

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events are rather indicated than described, suggestion has been directed to give necessary depth and significance. There is consequently a naturalness of development which, because it reveals none of the mechanics by which it was achieved, keeps the reader unaware of the writer as a personality but always conscious of his ability as a historian.

In the depiction of Saint Isaac Jogues as a priest and a zealot of souls, there is no attempt to wrap him in clouds of pietism. His faith was even simpler than his physical needs. To those who must blindly regard a martyr as a fanatic, he offers the cold tenacity of logic. Father Jogues could have escaped many times from the Mohawks; there was a reason why he did not, but once that reason was removed he did escape. Reason was in all that he did and it was bulwarked by the surety that it was God's will, not his own, which was being done. There is no difficulty in understanding Father Jogues's motivation although, because it partakes so intimately of the divine, we, less heroic in virtue, must marvel at his courage, his fortitude, his endurance and his devotion. And in the latter virtue, Father Talbot has steeped himself in order to produce this masterful biography.

JONN GILLAND BRUNINI.

Shakespeare's Imagery

Shakespeare's Imagery, by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon. New York: The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

MODERN criticism, interested in the artistic rather than the ethical contour of Shakespearean drama, has wisely laid great stress on the imagery. Professor Spurgeon offers the present volume as the first in a projected series which is to tell us what a study of Elizabethan figurative language reveals about the nature and import of Shakespeare's mind. I think it an important book, which ought to take precedence in every library over older and sometimes quite outmoded commentaries.

Here is first of all a classification of the images—a kind of ground plan, which leads to the most interesting and useful forms of literary speculation. That is, incidentally, a habit which needs reviving. So few are being taught to *taste* good writing; and it is assumed on all sides that a man who can give a hurried estimate of the bald facts in two dozen new books is an educated person. He is not: being first of all an arrant knave of a positivist, and second a wretch who thinks the esthetic faculty all belly and no palate.

At any rate, Professor Spurgeon's deductions are often of the most delightful sort, as when she calls our attention to Shakespeare's admiration for birds in motion. Sometimes (for my part at least) she ventures too far. When she tells us, for example, that the Bard of Avon was "a keen and strong swimmer," because the images prove as much, I find myself demurring. With as much reason one might term Emerson a skilled carpenter and William Butler Yeats an expert bean-grower. But generally the light is most helpful, and the oil burns steadily. Carefully designed and printed charts add to the value of the volume.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

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From the Poets

The Best Poems of 1935. Selected by Thomas Moult. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.00.

MR. MOULT considers the fact that fourteen of his annual anthologies have a sign of a lasting interest in poetry, which love is in itself "a vivid proof . . . that the world still seeks the Good, the Beautiful, and the True, in spite of a civilization (so-called) which, at every turn and more and more ruthlessly, makes its sinister challenge to the faith and ideals that the poets, throughout the centuries, with hardly an exception, have set to their own special music." The quotation affords a clue to Mr. Moult's outlook and taste, which are very good, though perhaps not as inclusive as some might wish. American poets new and old are generously reprinted, among them being such favorites as Robert Frost and Margaret Widdemer, and such newer writers as Raymond Larsson and Otto Freund. The book is also a helpful index to the latest in English verse. COMMONWEAL poets represented are Witter Bynner and Theodore Maynard. To our way of thinking several lyrics contributed by Mr. R. P. T. Coffin to these pages are superior to the lyric by which he is represented. All in all, the anthology is delightful.

Men of Rome

A History of Rome. From 753 B.C. to 410 A.D., by Cyril E. Robinson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.50.

EARLY in the winter of 1930, THE COMMONWEAL noticed the publication of Mr. Robinson's "History of Greece." The companion volume on Rome has recently appeared. Readers of the former will be delighted to find that the latter proves to be reading fully as scholarly and stimulating. Textbooks of this sort have hitherto generally lacked even a modicum of literary grace. But this author, who teaches at Winchester College in England, sincerely believes in revitalizing rather than in mummifying the past of history. The ancient Romans are real humans who build their state, conquer the world, organize an empire, only to decline ultimately into a people of weaklings. Wars and battles there must be, but accounts of constitution, law, art and literature are in no wise neglected. The book recommends itself especially to scholars, general readers and to exceptional pupils in the upper forms of preparatory schools or in junior colleges.

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